

KICK IT OVER

Canada USA Australia \$3.00 UK 1.50p No. 26 Summer 91

The revolution will not be a stage play
it will not be a set-piece
a theatrical spectacle

The revolution will not be viewed from \$30 cushioned seats
in the balcony
in air-conditioned comfort

The revolution will not be singing and dancing
and bright-coloured period costumes

The revolution will not be greeted with cheers and applause
by men in business suits or tuxedos
and women in furs and evening gowns

There will be no standing ovation at the end of the revolution
as the audience exits the theater
discussing the drama, the pathos, the staging

The revolution will not be a stage play

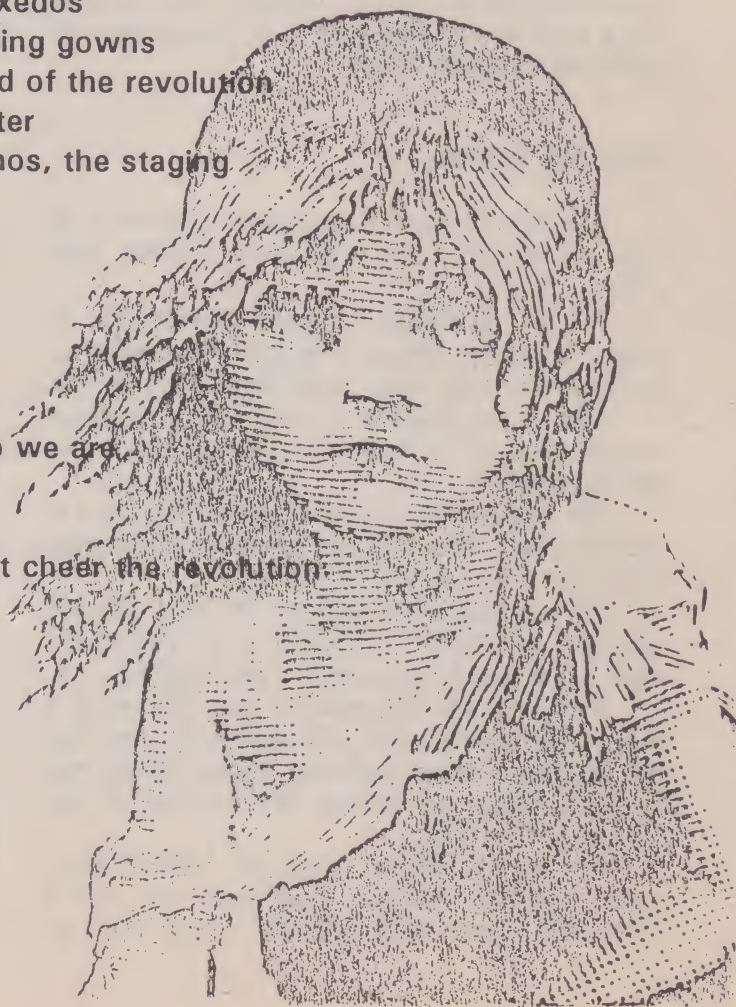
The revolution will be our lives
it will be our deaths

The revolution will be in the streets
and in our homes

The revolution will be what we do and who we are
not what we say
or what we wear

The men in suits and women in furs will not cheer the revolution
they will fight it
and we will fight them

The revolution will not have an ending
The revolution is our lives.



WE'RE BACK, FOLKS!

This is the first issue of **KIO** to be printed since December, 1989. After doing the magazine for eight years, the previous editorial board burned out and decided to discontinue. However, a new board was formed by devotees who didn't want to see the magazine die. One of us was involved in producing the most recent issue, the others have no previous involvement in production.

We regret the delay, and our inability to answer the many letters that came in asking what had happened to us or why their subscriptions hadn't been honoured. We've been too busy learning the intricacies of desktop publishing and sifting through the accumulation of submissions. Thanks for your patience.

The new editors are committed to publishing quarterly (should we fail, subscriptions will be extended to cover the number of issues paid for.) Since over half the money received from sales in stores goes to our distributors, we encourage our readers to subscribe directly.

What We Believe

The **Kick It Over** collective is opposed to all forms of hierarchy and domination, whether right or left.

For us, revolution is more a process than an event -- a process rooted in the radicalization of individuals and in the transformation of everyday life.

Rather than make a principle out of violence or nonviolence, we believe in judging actions on their own merits.

We support acts of challenge and resistance to authority, and we encourage all efforts to develop models for a new way of living.

We are not a mouthpiece for an "official" anarchist movement. We prefer to go beyond the stock issues which make up the "left agenda."

Since we are interested in the creation of a politics of everyday life, we attempt to draw out and popularize those implicitly radical values and lifestyles which we believe are pointing in the direction of freedom.

We do not identify with the "official left," which seeks to establish itself as a new ruling group. We identify with, and seek to give voice to,

the largely unarticulated anti-authoritarian tendencies within society.

We are committed to spontaneity, by which we mean the triumph of life over dogma. Hence, we believe that freedom is in need of constant re-definition.

Prisoner Subscriptions

It was once our policy to give prison inmates free subscriptions on request, but we've had so many requests that this is now beyond our financial resources. We do, however, still send one complimentary issue to prisoners who so request. One magazine that is sent free to prisoners, and deals directly with their concerns, is **Prison News Service**, POB 5052 Stn A, Toronto M5W 1W4. It's published by **Bulldozer**, and includes the U.S. publication **Marionette News**.

Looking For New Editors

The collective needs more members in order to achieve its goals. If you live in the Toronto area, share the above-mentioned principles and would like to consider joining, please contact us. We'd also like to hear from people in other areas who would be interested in promoting **Kick It Over** in their area.

for **Kick It Over**

**Alison Curtis, Maria Lester,
Bob Melcombe, Gary Moffatt**

the editors wish to thank **Karl Amdur**, of the previous collective, for his time and patience in teaching us the intricacies of desktop publishing.

Subscribe to Kick It Over:
\$9 (Canadian) for four issues
U.S.-\$9 U.S.
overseas-the equivalent

All submissions and subscriptions to:
Kick It Over,
PO Box 5811, Stn A,
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5W 1P2.

Table of Contents

We're Back, Folks!	2
Guidelines For Contributors	4
From Neo Colonialism to New World Order	5
Paths to Social Change	9
From Buying Co-op To Political Action	16
A Woman Alone With Her Self	18
Living the spirit	19
On Growing Up Indian	22
Surviving Child Abuse	25
Looking to Our Roots	26
Journeys Through Central America	28
Slidebank For Social Activists	36
Smashing the Iron Ricepot	37
The Global Village	39
In Brief	42
Letters To The Editor	46

Cover poem by Bob Melcombe was inspired by Gil Scot-Heron, *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*.



Guidelines For Contributors

We need your articles and letters. Only through a constant exchange of news and ideas among its readers can **Kick It Over** achieve its goals.

Articles should be between 150 and 2500 words, though we'll print longer ones if the material so warrants. Very long articles may be printed over two issues.

Submissions intended for one of our regular features (i.e. letters to the editor, paths to social change) should be so indicated.

Payment: Fame and Glory. Five copies of the issue in which you appear.

Simultaneous Submissions: Please let us know to what other publications your submission has been sent. If there is significant overlap, we will not print.

We occasionally (not all that often) print poetry and fiction, provided it deals with the themes of the magazine.

We always need good graphics, so art submissions are welcome. We suggest that you not send originals without a written request for them.

Our primary concerns are anti-authoritarianism, feminism, radical ecology and methods of social change. We sometimes print articles in related areas.

While we are committed to good writing, we wish to encourage new or less-skilled writers to contribute. Not everyone who has good ideas can write well. Our primary commitment is to ideas.

We reserve the right to edit for style, length, grammar and offensive language. When editing, we will do our best to maintain the integrity of the ideas.

We prefer submissions to be typed, double-spaced. IBM compatible disks are fine if you happen to have access.

We return material if a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. (If you live outside Canada, please do not use stamps; instead, remit cash equal to the cost of mailing it to us.)

The following guidelines and preferences are not commandments engraved in stone. If the article has something worthwhile to say, we will consider printing it:

-we encourage contributors to avoid sexist language and attitudes. We prefer "s/he" or other gender-neutral terms to the generic "he."

-likewise, we discourage writing that discriminates according to youth/age, sexual preference, class, education or ability.

-we do not print racist writing.

-please try to avoid rhetoric and jargon.

-we dislike gratuitous personal attacks; it is not necessary to impugn a person's character to criticize her/his ideas.



Kick It Over

April 1991

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From Neo Colonialism to New World Order

By Gary Moffatt

1. The Latest Massacre

The "Gulf War" wasn't really a war at all. When almost thirty industrial nations drop thousands of bombs on a third world country each night for six consecutive weeks, the total tonnage used being many times that which obliterated Nagasaki in 1945, we are speaking not of a War but of a Massacre, one of the first to be initiated by the New World Order. Why did the peace movement fail so drastically to mobilize public opinion against the war that 91% of the American populace, and vast majorities of the populations of the other countries that took part, approved of what had been done at the close of hostilities? (assuming, of course, that the pollsters aren't lying to us.)

This article will argue that much of the answer lies in the consistent failure of the North American peace movement to analyze the nature and goals of the war machine created by the USA and its satellites, currently acting to preserve a "new world order." Until quite recently, the peace movement has preferred to espouse single-issue causes, -- i.e. "no nuclear arms for Canada" or "refuse the Cruise" in Canada, a nuclear freeze in the USA -- without asking itself or anyone else whether the corporate ruling elite can grant such demands within the context of the colonialist role it has elected to play. More recently, marches have attempted to link two or three single issues, still with no basic analysis about why so many things are wrong at the same time.

Thus, peace movement supporters at the outset of the Massacre expressed dismay that the "peace dividend" which had seemed within their grasp a year earlier had been yanked away. Nobody who understands what the industrial nations are doing to the third world thought that peace was at hand a year ago.

Although the collapse of Russia's empire terminated the cold war pretext which had fanned militarism since 1945, the USA still has lots of pretexts left. Chief among these is the myth that economic security requires a continually expanding economy, which requires unlimited access to the third world's natural resources and cheap labour, as well as shunting ecological concerns to the back

burner. This access has always been the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy, and therefore of the other industrial countries that now accept U.S. leadership.

The only change is that these industrial countries, including perhaps Russia, are now acting in unison instead of competing against one another. This is not because of any sudden attainment of enlightenment, but because such cooperation serves the needs of the corporations, which controlled the U.S. government since 1865. Since WW2 these corporations have become multinational in scope, and the governments they control are expected to follow suit. Let anyone who challenges the claim that corporations control these governments try to get elected without corporate funds.

The megacorporations and their satellite governments are establishing a global political system known as the "new world order." Like the isms, this term means different things to different people; in this article it means domination of the world by USA, Japan and the European Economic Community (more precisely, by the multinational corporations which control their political systems) through a combination of economic coercion and military intervention. To understand the Gulf Massacre and other current events, we must understand how this system evolved.

2. The Neo Colonial Era

Although the USA is commonly credited with having freed its slaves in 1865, what in fact happened was a slight modification in U.S. methods of administering slavery, which reflected the tilt in power from the agricultural south to the industrial north -- a tilt which the American Civil War made official. Instead of bringing the slaves to North America to work on plantations, the USA after 1865 left them in their native countries and imported the stuff they produced instead. This created less mess within U.S. boundaries, and paved the way for enslavement of peoples of brown and yellow skin as well as black.

To make sure that they remained slaves, i.e. forced labour with no control over their working conditions, the Americans and Europeans divided South America, Asia and Africa into separate politi-

cal units known as countries, which were then divided among the industrial powers. After WW1, similar arbitrary divisions were made in the Middle East and Eastern Europe. The divisions completely disregarded ethnic and bioregional considerations, leading (since WW2 in Africa, currently in the Middle East and Yugoslavia) to tragic struggles for control by disparate groups after the countries' liberation from their colonial rulers.

While Europe ruled its conquered countries directly, the USA preferred a policy of "neo colonialism" through which it installed corrupt native rulers who were willing to exploit workers and peasants on behalf of the corporations, so long as their small ruling elites were allowed to live comfortably. These elites were backed by U.S.-trained armies or, where these proved insufficient, by direct U.S. intervention. (See the long country-by-country list of U.S. interference in other countries which I prepared for KIO #16). U.S. corporations knew that they could attain world hegemony without permanent occupation of U.S. colonies if, as Andrew Carnegie said in 1898, the USA "turns from phantom schemes of annexation of barbarous peoples in distant lands and just looks down to her feet and sees the world."

When the European colonial empires were destroyed by the first two world wars of our century, the USA undertook to control the entire world in this manner. WW3 began on March 12, 1947, when President Truman proclaimed his doctrine that the USA has the right to intervene anywhere in the world, and immediately invoked this principle to help suppress popular movements in Greece and Turkey. WW3 is not a war between nations, but between the rich and the poor, with the middle classes generally supporting the rich so long as its own economic comfort is provided. The battle theatres of WW3 shift from year to year, to wherever people are trying to liberate themselves so that they can feed their families--the deserts of Iraq, the forests of Mozambique, the streets of Detroit, the Oka Reserve and so forth.

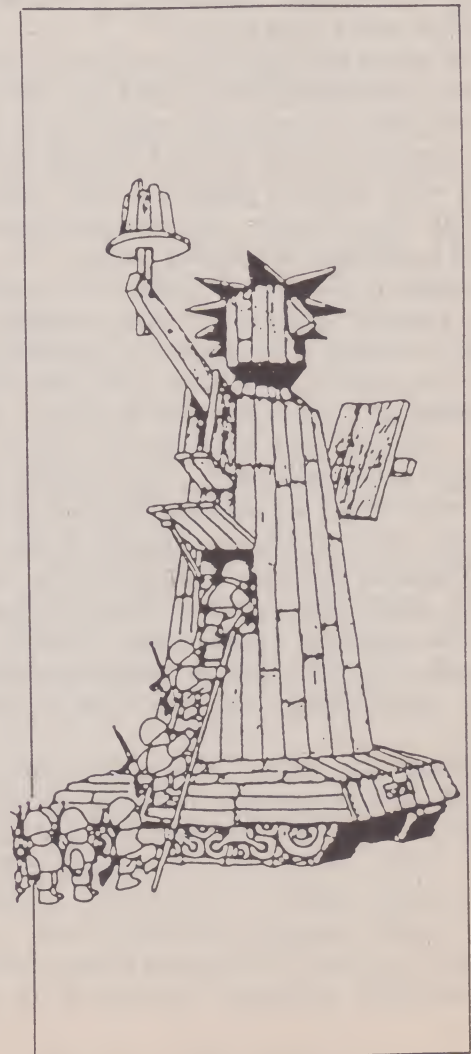
3. The New Order Cometh

By the 1970s, U.S. corporations had gone worldwide and, instead of relying solely on the U.S. government as the means of exploitation, they evolved the trilateralist doctrine that the USA, Japan and Western Europe would dictate to the rest of the world by controlling international finance and foreign aid. This process was later facilitated

by the collapse of the Soviet empire and by Russia's growing identification with the other industrialized nations.

Since Reagan's election in 1980, the USA has consistently reneged on its financial obligations to the United Nations, preferring instead to dole out foreign aid through its own U.S. AID program. This way it can set its own conditions on foreign aid, usually insisting that the aid go to help the better-off farmers and consequently drive the poorer ones off the land. This makes it easy to transfer the land from producing subsistence crops for the population to producing luxury crops for export to the west.

After sponsoring a military coup in Thailand in 1976, for instance, the USA presided over the deprivation of 30% of the peasants of their land, thereby creating the phenomenon of the landless peasant previously unknown in Thailand. It also insisted that co-ops be regrouped along regional rather than village lines, to kill any grassroots strength. There was another military coup in Thai-



land while world attention was diverted to the Gulf, also quite likely masterminded by the CIA although the evidence has yet to appear. Both coups were in response to growing tendencies of the civilian governments to distance themselves from U.S. policies. Since the second coup, residents of the Pa Kham District of Buri Ram Province have been threatened with arrest and eviction because of their resistance to illegal logging and to eucalyptus growers, while elsewhere in Thailand healthy debate over large irrigation dams, salt mining, plantation projects and community land rights has been stifled.

While consistently undermining the United Nations, the USA has also used its influence there to force the U.N. to follow a corporate agenda, and made it a party to such deeds of U.S. imperialism as the Korean War and the murder of Patrice Lumumba in Zaire. Under U.S. pressure, a resolution calling for a Palestinian homeland is ignored at the U.N., while one calling for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait is enforced by a massacre. By allowing itself to be used in this manner, the U.N. has gravely weakened its credibility and jeopardized its future.

One of the cornerstones of U.S. (or New World Order) policies is to maintain the arbitrary political boundaries which were drawn up in the third world by the colonial empires in the 19th century and after WW1, which are guaranteed to keep each country too physically weak and/or beset by contentions of divergent ethnic groups to act effectively against domination by the industrial states. When Saddam Hussein showed signs of disputing this domination, Iraq had to be further weakened. To this end, the Americans led Hussein to believe that they would not oppose his annexation of Kuwait; after the deed was done, they proceeded to demand his withdrawal under conditions so humiliating that no one of his temperament was likely to agree.

The USA consistently refused to negotiate its demands to allow Saddam to save face, thereby making war inevitable, and at the same time misled Saddam about his ability to resist an invasion in order to encourage him to fight. During the war, the USA increased its demands each time Saddam attempted to meet them; he was only allowed to surrender after the USA had finished testing its weapons of mass destruction and making Iraq an object lesson against future third world resistance.

U.S. policy dictates that the borders of Iraq, as well as Kuwait, remain intact. While proclaiming that it wanted Saddam Hussein to go, the USA in practice protected him. His removal might have led to loss of territory by Iraq, to corresponding in-

creases in power of other states in the region, and to Kurdish independence providing a beacon of hope to oppressed fourth world (stateless) peoples whom the USA is determined to keep oppressing. The massacres of the Kurds in the north and of Shiite Moslems in the south which followed Hussein's surrender to the USA was a collaborative effort of Bush and Hussein; Bush had continued supplying Hussein with arms (via Jordan) right up to the point at which he began to massacre Hussein's people, and after the massacre Bush delayed implementing demands that Hussein surrender his arsenal until Hussein had time to complete the slaughter of the Kurds and Shiites. Bush did nothing to help the Kurds until France and Britain began talking about establishing "enclaves" for them; since enclaves might have formed the basis of a future homeland, Bush scotched the idea by establishing "refugee camps" instead.

While third world repression remains one of the trilateral alliance's primary goals, another is to force down production costs at home by depriving labour of the gains it has made during the late 19th and early 20th century. Although the value of Keynesian economics has yet to be refuted, the industrial states are presently reducing both the number of jobs and the amount of social security available on the pretext of reducing national debt. Industrial nations are forcing their workers to compete with those of the third world for their jobs. The USA is forcing "free trade" down the throats of Canada and Mexico, although both countries' populaces voted against it. (56% of Canadians were unable to defeat "free trade" because their votes against it were divided between two opposition parties, while the Mexican ruling party simply ignored its defeat at the polls). At the same time, small independent farmers are being forced off the land in both industrialized and third world nations.

Any third world government that resists cutting its peoples' living standards is promptly deprived of credit by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank; if this doesn't force it into line, the USA sponsors either a military coup (ie Chile, Thailand), a prolonged war with rightwing guerrillas (ie Mozambique, Nicaragua) or outright invasion (ie Guatemala, Grenada.) A current drought in Ethiopia and Sudan is the result of the destruction of the South American rain forest, which has been caused by the military junta which the USA installed in Brazil in 1964 stealing peasants' land and forcing them to cut down trees in the Amazon.

Such tactics aren't unknown to force industrial nations into line, either. In the mid 1970s, the USA prevailed upon the Australian governor general to dismiss a government which threatened one of its bases there. Last year Ontario, Canada's largest province, elected a social democratic government whose first budget maintained a certain degree of social spending (enough to reduce, but not eliminate, hunger in the province,) at the cost of increasing Ontario's deficit. Financiers promptly reduced Ontario's credit rating and threatened to withdraw various industries from the province. It remains to be seen how far the new world order will go to force Ontario into monetarism, and at what point the Ontario government will capitulate (its social democratic counterpart in France, under Francois Mitterand, held out for two years before dismantling the social reforms it had instituted.) Whether Ontario does capitulate or not might settle the ongoing anarchist debate about whether to vote for social democrats or boycott elections.

What Is To Be Done?

Faced with inevitable declines in world living standards if the environment is to be kept from collapsing, the political right has established an agenda which will enable the top 20% of income earners to continue living in luxury while the rest of us fight each other for their garbage. Since 1980 the right has had everything its own way, largely because the left has no agenda of its own and has confined itself to protesting, and very occasionally resisting, rightwing measures. For the situation to change, the populace must not only become disenchanted with the New World Order whose mas-sacres it now so enjoys; it must create the means of freeing itself from a political system in which they are only allowed to choose between right wing parties. To date, there is little indication that the peo-



ple will have either the will or the resourcefulness to break this rightwing monopoly on power.

Since most people are too busy making money and watching television to concern themselves with social change, the only hope I can see is for the small minority who do see the need for a different social order to proceed to

create it, and hope that others will join when they come to see that capitalism won't meet their needs. Politically, we must resist all forms of exploitation; racist, sexist, ageist, homophobic, cultural and so forth. Culturally, we have come a long way since the 60s in creating a spontaneous popular culture in opposition to the one we are fed by the mass media. However, we still have a long way to go so long as people would rather flock to expensive superstar events than attend homegrown cultural happenings in parks, community centres or church basements.

Less progress has been made economically. We cannot free the third world from exploitation and war unless we at the same time free ourselves from dependence on corporate capitalism. Creating an alternative economy which can provide more basic security than do the corporations can be done, but it's a long job and counter cultures in most western countries have barely begun. Whether we choose as our model the networks of worker and consumer co-operatives of the Basque regions of Spain (notably Mondragon), the networks of small but democratically run firms or "artisan villages" in northcentral Italy (notably Modena), or some other model of our own designing, we must demonstrate that we don't need the corporations in order to survive.

Returning to the question of the peace movement's failure in the Gulf cited at the outset of this

article, it may well be that there is no longer a place for the peace movement that rose as a result of the cold war tensions of the 1950s. This movement was based on the affluent middle class fearing for its families' safety in the event of accidental or preemptive nuclear war. While still very real, this danger now comes mainly from friction between the have and have-not nations, rather than between the superpowers of whom only one remains. The "terrorist" or "freedom fighter" (depending on your viewpoint) wings of several exploited countries have, or will soon have, either nuclear weapons or "smart" conventional ones capable of doing an equal amount of damage. They won't have as many weapons as do the industrial powers, but they'll have less to lose by using the ones they do have.

Under these circumstances, there seems no

further point in opposing the proliferation of nuclear weapons without linking this to the question of the uses to which they will be put. The cause of peace is now so closely linked to the battle against third world exploitation that the usefulness of a separate peace movement is hard to see. We do need a faction within the anti-imperialist movement that will press for non-violent methods of resistance wherever possible, but the peace movement has never held a consensus on nonviolence so this role would be beyond its scope. Folding the peace movement would liberate the energies of its membership to join existing anti-imperialist groups, to create new ones if they don't find any they like, or in some cases to convert existing peace groups to anti-imperialist ones.

Paths to Social Change

what works? what doesn't? share your experiences in this ongoing feature

Most anarchists would like to live in some sort of federated tribal society, where the basic social units are small enough for each person to have an input into the decision-making process, and matters of common concern would be worked out by representatives of each tribe. None of us knows how we're going to get from here to there, though some have an idea what route they wish to travel on. Anarchists spend a great deal of time debating the relative merits of confronting the System vs. building our own society from the bottom up, violent vs. nonviolent confrontation, voting vs. boycotting elections and similar topics.

The purpose of this regular feature in *KIO* will be, not to take sides in any of these disputes, but rather to trace the progress of adherents of each position in working for social change. Both confrontation and building alternatives require a much wider arsenal of methods and tactics than is currently being employed, an arsenal which will build both on the lessons of experience and the powers of imagination. Perhaps the tactics used and lessons learned in one area can be of use to people in other areas working on similar problems.

So that we can share our experiences, *KIO* requests from our readers in various parts of the

world reports on what they've done, what's worked and what hasn't, lessons learned etc. We'll take a number of these reports out of the publications *KIO* receives in exchange, but we'd also like to print original material from people writing us on either a regular or an occasional basis. The reports can be anywhere from a few sentences to a page or more in length, depending on how important you see the project you're reporting on as being.

Community Front Aids Strikers

EUGENE OREGON: After beginning a 28-month strike against Morgan Products Ltd., a leading manufacturer of fir doors in Oregon, workers discovered that Morgan was winning the PR campaign due to its ability to hire professional media experts. Laws that prohibit secondary boycotts, sympathy strikes and more than a limited number of picketers severely restrict a union's effectiveness in a labour dispute. To reverse this, supporters of the union in the community formed an independent community group whose skills were used to produce radio ads about the strike, organize fundraising events and turn out monthly community pickets. Most impor-



IDEAS & ACTION

tantly, the group explained to the community how the company was taking income from the community by replacing union workers with scabs, and demanding concessions which would take an extra \$1.5 million from the local economy. When the company brought court action against the activists as "agents" of the union, the union won the court case.

After 28 months, the company won the strike by decertifying the union in a vote from which the striking workers were barred. However, a permanent community organization has been created to support labour struggles, and is later supported the striking Greyhound bus drivers, helping them to get the kind of press coverage that underlines the community issues of the Greyhound strike. The organization also works to stop log exports, reduce work weeks and obtain loan and tax incentives for workers to buy mills and set up new co-operatives and businesses. Besides better working conditions, the organization presses for requirements that buyers seeking to acquire major production facilities issue social impact statements. This would discourage debt-ridden companies from purchasing such facilities and retiring their debt at the expense of Oregon's communities.

Unions have funds needed for community organizing, and can confront industrial elites by shutting down production. Community groups are sometimes not subject to the same prohibitions (such as from picketing executives' homes) from which unions suffer, and widespread community support can make it difficult for a company to hire scabs. Although lost, the Morgan strike showed the possibilities inherent in union-community co-operation.

Portland Alliance, December 1990.
2807 S.E. Stark,
Portland, OR,
USA 97214.

Contest Encourages Thought

TORONTO ONTARIO: The Toronto Recycling Action Committee, one of a number appointed by municipal government but acting with a fair degree of independence, recently held a "What Products Make You Scream?" contest to encourage people to think about environmentally harmful products. The 235 entries were mostly concerned about over-packaging, disposal products such as diapers, and products with harmful chemicals. The winner, who identified junk mail, processed food packaging and

styrofoam peanuts, received as a prize environmentally friendly personalized stationery printed on recycled paper.

Another innovation being considered in Toronto is a proposal by the city's Planning and Development Department that a permanent advisory group of young people be established at City Hall, modelled after similar groups in Edmonton and Seattle, to advise City Council on matters that affect and interest young people such as improvements to parks, community facilities and public transit, reducing gang violence and combatting pollution.

City Press Releases, 22-11-90, 19-3-91.

Monitor Local Events

GABRIOLA, B.C.: New Catalyst, the B.C. environmentalist tabloid, suggests that those concerned about forestry issues should form "watershed groups" in their own areas. Such groups can make themselves familiar with their local forest -- plant and animal types, water sources and soils etc. -- and make systematic observations of forest conditions, so that they will have the required knowledge to participate in forest planning. The suggestions are geared to B.C., where the Ministry of Forests offer a number of public processes enabling citizens to engage in planning discussions, but groups in other areas can find out whether similar programs exist in their province or state and demand them if they don't. (New Catalyst, POE Box 189, Gabriola BC V0R 1X0, subs \$19.) One of the proposed strategies, starting community land trusts to remove property from the speculative market and permit long-term planning for its preservation and use, is borrowed from U.S. groups such as the Schumacher Society, which have been doing this for years. For information on starting land trusts: Turtle Island Earth Stewards, 5810 Battison St., #101, Vancouver BC V5R 5X8.

Community Development

ANNAPOLIS VALLEY, N.S.: One possible way for residents of an area to encourage local control of their own economy is for them to start a community-based development company to help create lasting jobs that will benefit the community. The growth of one such company, Annapolis Ventures, is charted in an article in *Perception* v.13 #4. A two-day seminar involving county business and community leaders of this rural Nova Scotia area

produced a list of 200 ideas for job creation and business development. After studies determined which of these were the most realistic, Annapolis Ventures was formed to carry out an action plan based on these studies for the encouragement of small business. A consulting staff helps people determine which business proposals seem viable, and sometimes invests money through loans or share purchases. The company has helped create several hundred jobs and give small businesses the data they need to survive. Although originally government-funded, the company planned to continue independently at the end of its original five-year contract.

Perception

55 Parkdale, box 3585, Stn C,
Ottawa Canada K1Y 4G1

Abandon Power Plant

TURKEY: Although not known for its responsiveness to public opinion, the Turkish government has abandoned a billion dollar thermal power plant on the Aegean coast (which was to have been built in a forested area by a Japanese consortium) after 50,000 protesters formed a 24 km human chain to dramatize their opposition.

Nimbin News, #2495

POE Box 209,

Nimbin, Australia 2480

Wind Energy Co-ops

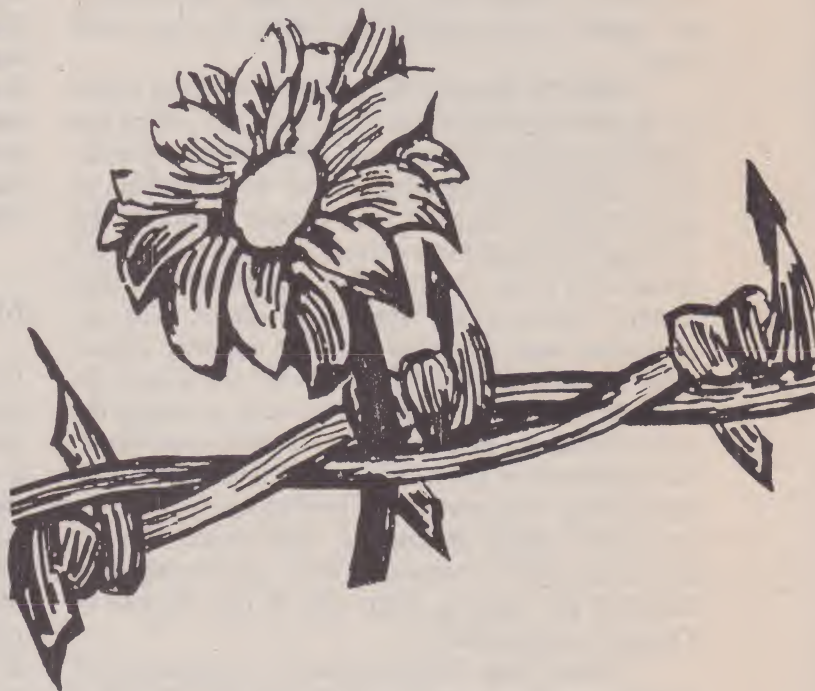
DENMARK: Citizens are joining wind energy co-operatives, and this year the country hopes to obtain 2% of its electric power from "wind parks" run by the utility companies and by citizen-owned wind power co-operatives. Co-ops are easy to start, range in size from 100-200 people, and in most cases own just one windmill, which produces enough power for 50-100 households and reduces by 1.1 million pounds the amount of carbon dioxide that would be emitted by a coal-fired plant filling the same purpose.

Earth Island Journal,
300 Broadway #28,
San Francisco, CA
USA 94133.

Autonomy Group Forms

POLAND: Here is the declaration on the formation of the independent political group Autonomia, from a Budapest press release:

Autonomy in our interpretation is not only the final social aim, but also the free, responsible, morally guided behaviour of self-conscious people.



The aim is a society without rulers, without hierarchy, without authoritarianism; a society based on autonomy, self-governing communities functioning in a decentralized federation. Mutual aid, nonviolence, tolerance and rejection of hierarchy should be the principles of the self-organizing society. All economic entities (factories, companies etc.) should be the common property of those working there, and all these should be run according to the principles of workers' self government. Economy should be submitted to humanitarian and ecological goals.

Direct democracy should work in policy. The groups of people or communities should form their councils working on the principles of direct democracy and imperative mandate; that is, the members should only represent the decisions made by the voters.

No more oppression, no more exploitation!

No more discrimination for political, national, racist, religious, sexual or any other reasons!

No more patriarchal men's rule! All women, children and elderly people should enjoy total emancipation.

AUTONOMIA is an independent Hungarian political group without any leadership, which will not work either as an association or as a political organization (i.e. a party.) The group will not join the struggle for political power, but will support the other independent grassroot communities, movements and groups, and will help them become active in the political situation. The group will not have its representatives, but will be active politically in a direct way by spreading its ideas and creating new alternatives ways of life. Though the final aim is the society without parties and state, in the political situation in Hungary we support all independent initiatives which want to break the power of this totalitarian one-party system and fight for pluralism.

None of the existing models of democracy in the world are attractive enough for us, we reject all state-power systems.

Everyone who agrees with our principles is welcome to our groups.

from press release

Nuclear Resisters Turn To Gulf

USA: Civil disobedience arrests of anti-nuclear activists dropped off sharply during the last four and one-half months of 1990, as many advocates of nonviolent direct action turned their attention in late summer to the impending Persian Gulf War. According to statistics compiled by the Nuclear Resister newsletter, of the 3,000 anti-nuclear arrests reported during the year, less than 10% occurred after Nagasaki Day, August 9. In 1989, 5,530 such arrests were reported. 57% of the arrests occurred at the Nevada nuclear weapons test site, where actions continued into 1991. While most test site arrests were not prosecuted, five people served up to seven months in federal prisons or half-way houses in 1990 for test site arrests from the previous year.

Following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the U.S.-led military response, activists across the continent turned skills and determination, honed

during more than a decade of anti-nuclear direct action, to the task of trying to prevent the Gulf War.

Two civil disobedience campaigns claimed at least partial victories. Repeated blocking of Canadian Air Force Base runways by the Innu people of Labrador may have been a factor in NATO's decision not to locate a new weapons centre there, although overhead flights and prosecution of native hunters continues. In upstate New York, Governor Cuomo ordered reconsideration of plans to create a low-level radioactive waste dump after a melee between state troopers and local citizens who stood behind six Allegheny county elders who had handcuffed themselves across a bridge.

In the harshest prison sentence of the year, Jennifer Haines was sentenced to a maximum two years in federal prison, simply for praying inside the gate of the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Denver. Due to her absolute non-cooperation with the legal system, Haines was convicted not only of trespass but on a bogus charge of failing to appear.

Nuclear Resister, PO Box 43383

Tucson, AZ

USA 85733.

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Social Movements and Minorities.

BROOKLYN: I would like to describe some of the history of the NYC Brooklyn Anti-Nuclear Group (BANG,) now defunct, to show how third world and minority people can be put off by largely white social change movements. BANG defined itself in two ways: we were *anti-nuclear* (both power and weapons)) and we were also *anti-racist*.

Along with simple moral concern, we described ourselves as anti-racist for very concrete reasons. The anti-nuclear cause intersected with working-class/anti-racist issues in many ways. Every dollar that goes for bombs further impoverishes the already destitute, who are disproportionately non-white. The boycott of South Africa, and fight against apartheid, included stopping uranium exports to the west that had been mined in South Africa and its Namibian colony. The struggle for American Indian sovereignty is also a struggle against uranium mining on their lands -- utilities are not just the enemy because they run nuclear power plants, but because the poor have the hardest time paying bills, facing shutoffs etc. It's *third-world countries* that have been threatened with planned H-

bombings. Blacks had a harder time fleeing Three Mile Island because of a lack of means.

But, more generally and importantly, we saw a contradiction between the way nuclear power/weapons would affect *all* people -- as opposed to an anti-nuclear movement that was clearly white, and *not* made up of *all* people. There is something profoundly racist about this, whether or not conscious and intentional. Poverty stricken victims of racism are going to be going about the business of day-to-day living and survival, before they'll get into such seemingly esoteric issues like "nukes."

The other main problem is whites' attitudes, and how they may turn off third-worlders. While I've never encountered any out-and-out racism among white anti-nuclear/environmental etc. activists, there's plenty of "objective racism." There's a provincial and chauvinistic "What does racism have to do with *us* and *our* issue" attitude, *when there's an attitude about lack of third-world involvement at all!* Often the problem isn't even thought of. When outreach is done, it's often done in an awkward, unthinking manner, unfamiliar with third-world problems and culture: "We want *you* people to join *us* to fight the local utility that owns the nuclear plant" -- even when "you people" may be more concerned about the utility's high rates.

Again and again at rallies I've heard "How come more Blacks aren't here, we should really try to get them here," when the Holly Near clones that pass for culture at such demos are hardly palatable to the rap generation. The idea of demonstrating, and especially of civil disobedience, is not taken lightly by third-worlders who experience more police violence and heavier charges at street actions.

One could go on and on. Many of the ways in which the anti-nuclear movement is alienated from and alienates third-world people applies equally to the former's relationship to poor and traditional working-class whites. The point is that different segments of people must be approached on their

own terms. One should never go to people living in ghettos and on reservations saying "join our cause", but we should say "what can we do for you", and then work together within that context. Others' struggles should be supported for their own validity, not for one's own gain, with an eye toward joint work.

BANG was formed just after Three Mile Island, and the members voted for a multi-issue anti-racist perspective rather than a single-issue campaign. In all our literature, we not only called for the shutdown of Indian Point (our local nuclear power plant), but for an end to high rates; an end to Con Edison's (the plant owner) racist and sexist hiring and promotions; an end to illegal shut-offs and high deposits that hit minorities, single mothers and the elderly the worst; an end to their gentrifying Renaissance program; and, last but not least, community control over utilities and energy policy.

We translated our literature into Spanish for NYC's large Spanish-speaking population. Although we did have minimal mixed racial membership at times, we knew that basic multi-racial work would take the form of a coalition. So BANG became friendly with FightBack, a primarily Black and Hispanic workers' organization. FightBack had a militant history of fighting to integrate Con Ed work crews, and was also

committed to a public takeover of Con Ed and closing Indian Point. They were featured speakers at our first rally; we supported their position paper on a lack of concern in the anti-nuclear movement for issues of the poor and minorities; and members of both groups took part in Friday night potlucks. We pushed hard for our community perspective and demands in anti-nuclear coalitions, and were successful despite often heavy resistance. We successfully insisted on having third-world input and speakers at rallies. Coalition literature took up BANG-like demands.

Some notable confrontations stood out, though. One was a rally at Con Ed's Brooklyn headquarters called by The Brooklyn Alliance for



Survival, of which BANG was a member. Through BANG, Black Veterans for Social Justice were invited to speak, and their rep reacted to the debate on whether to include third-world concerns in the anti-nuclear movement with a very straightforward speech. But when he said something like "you know, maybe they should drop the bomb on you all, then you'd know what our lives are like because our neighbourhoods are already bombed out, and then you might be sensitive to our needs" some of the Alliance, particularly members of Mobilization for Survival, were blown out and that was the end of that coalition! Unfortunate, because that rally was racially mixed, one of the few truly multi-racial anti-nuclear events ever (at least that we knew of).

We did a lot of community organizing, and work with native Americans (supporting South Dakota's Yellow Thunder Camp set up in the uranium rich black hills by traditional Lakotas). Indian Point certainly wasn't shut down, but Con Ed as a whole was circumscribed and made to limit its rate hikes and shut-off and deposit policies due to efforts of local utility reform groups with whom BANG had worked. BANG helped integrate anti-racist and working-class concerns into certain local anti-nuclear struggles. We helped initiate the Third World and Progressive Peoples' Coalition, but BANG was the sole anti-nuclear group in the coalition. It had no Hispanic or native representation, and the support of pro-Soviet groups precluded expressions of solidarity with dissident disarmament currents in the Soviet bloc (which, like third worlders, are often excluded from the mainstream disarmament agenda). The coalition folded rather shortly, and BANG became so depleted of members and energy that it only exists as a name.

However, BANG's experiences can aid those who'd like to attempt similar coalition building with minority and third world groups; I'd like to hear from others who've been involved in similar work, as I know people in other regions, as well as many environmentalists and anarchists, have been.

Bob McGlynn

528 5th Street

Brooklyn, NY,

USA 11215.

condensed from a paper by the author

Confronting Media Stereotypes

FLORIDA: In Gainesville, the murder of five students was followed by a rally at which several speakers discussed violence against wimmin. The

media consistently refused to cover this portion of their remarks, "as if strong wimmin threatened them" according to one local feminist. Media stories reflected only the mourning and fear of the participants, not their strength, defiance or denunciation of our male supremacist society.

One member of Gainesville Women's Liberation commented: "In the first couple of days after the murders, I found myself believing that the fear and resignation portrayed in the media was really the way most wimmin were feeling. But then I began to notice that many more of us were taking action to fight back, getting a gun or putting a baseball bat at the door and going on living our lives." Local feminists are organizing Take Back The Night rallies to encourage wimmin to act for their self defense and to build a movement.

Liberation News Service

Direct Action Defended

VERMONT: Burlington citizens who tore down the fences marking off a piece of waterfront land which was scheduled for a luxury condo have expressed solidarity with Berliners who took the wall down, with Mohawks who defend their ancestral lands from Canadian developers, and with the northcoast environmentalists who are using civil disobedience to save the last of the old-growth Redwood trees. The group's manifesto states that only by moving outside the system can we change it.

Liberation News Service

Save the Strait Marathon

NANAIMO: On August 24 of this year, hundreds of participants are expected to swim, kayak, canoe or windsurf for 26 km across Georgia Strait to Hammond Bay, just north of Nanaimo, to focus attention on the pollution of Georgia Strait and encourage people to participate in a clean-up. Last summer over 200 people took part in the first marathon, and at least double the number are expected this year. Some swimmers will try to cover the entire distance, while others work in teams.

Among the 55 small craft in last year's Marathon was a "paper boat" made from recycled materials, including hundreds of paper bags.

Save Georgia Strait Alliance

Box 122 Gabriola Island,

British Columbia VOR 1X0

FROM BUYING CO-OP TO POLITICAL ACTION

Editors' note: The following is abridged from a longer article which appeared in the Autumn 1988 issue of Green Revolution.

23 years ago, a Tokyo housewife organized 200 of her neighbouring housewives to buy milk collectively. From that modest start, the influential Seikatsu Club Co-operative movement in Japan has grown into a current membership of 155,000, embracing over 100 branches, each composed of roughly 500-1000 members in ten prefectures throughout the nation, employing a full-time staff of 700. By 1988 there were 153,000 members in various branches throughout Japan.

Motivated by the fundamental need to combat rising prices, in June 1965 one housewife from Tokyo's Setagaya district organized 200 women to buy 300 bottles of milk. Though it was not officially founded until 1968, in a sense, this was the Seikatsu Club's first collective purchase.

What started as a strategy to save money, however, gradually developed over the next 20 years into a philosophy encompassing "the whole of life." In addition to cost-effective collective purchase, the club is committed to a host of social concerns, including the environment, the empowerment of women and workers' conditions.

In order to cope with rising competition with supermarkets and other co-operatives, many co-ops have sought to expand by decreasing investment and increasing dividends. But we believe that our business should be run by our own investments. This is part of the club's vision to reduce the division between producer, consumer and investor. When members join the co-op, they make an initial investment of 1000 yen. This, supplemented by monthly contributions of 1000 yen, brings the average investment to roughly 47,000 yen per person, which is returned whenever a member leaves the co-op.

Our investment strategy has been highly successful, although the membership (155,000) ranks ninth out of Japan's 700 co-ops. For instance, we are fourth in terms of investment capital, which totals 7.5 billion yen. Because the point of investment is not profit, the club does not offer dividends to its members.

BUYING POLICIES

The Seikatsu Club utilizes a unique collective purchase system which relies on (a) advance orders, (b) distribution and payment based on a "han" or group, (c) the concept of "one product one variety," which limits the availability of any given item to a single brand.

Although most co-ops offer a wide range of merchandise, the club handles only 400 products in total. We believe that limiting quantity ensures quality; as a result, we offer only one version of any given product. Soy sauce is produced in numerous sizes and shapes in Japan, but we provide nothing other than one litre glass bottles of thick soy. Though limiting variety, the club is able to streamline production and distribution. It also enables us to make special demands of producers -- like leaving out preservatives.

The club also feels that limiting options cultivates creativity in daily life. We do not deal with salad dressing, for example, because we want to encourage members to make their own.

RESPECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

We refuse to handle products if they are detrimental to the health of our members or the environment. Synthetic detergents, artificial seasoning and clothing made with fluorescents are all off limits, even if members make demands for them.

But our commitment to the environment is far more extensive than that. For one thing, the club gets safer produce by cooperating with local farmers. In return for asking them to use organic fertilizer and fewer chemicals, members buy a contracted amount of produce, and agree to overlook physical imperfections if they exist. Members also assist farmers with the harvest when their labour is necessary.

We stand by the belief that housewives can create a society that is harmonious with nature by "taking action from the home." And, through our purchases and consumption, we are attempting to change the way that Japanese agriculture and fisheries are operated. As a symbolic gesture of societal

responsibility for past crimes due to careless industrialization, we buy summer oranges from families with Minamata disease.

When the club cannot find products which meet our quality, ecological or social standards, we will consider starting our own enterprise. This can be illustrated by the two organic milk production facilities we currently run with local dairy farmers.

We also have an agreement with an organic agricultural co-op in the Shounai district of Yamagata prefecture: beginning with rice in 1972, it gradually expanded to vegetables and fruit, and now accounts for 30% of our total purchases.

Buying directly from producers does more than merely eliminate the middleman's added distribution cost. It enhances cooperation and awareness by keeping consumers in touch with the production process. That is why our annual summer excursion to Shounai, which has attracted more than 1000 members since 1974, is so meaningful.

EXPANDING INTO SOCIETY

When they observed the advantages of natural over synthetic soap, many of the women began to lobby for the banning of synthetics. Although these efforts were by and large unsuccessful, they caused the membership to seek a more active role in politics. It has succeeded in getting 33 members elected at the municipal level, and in the process given women a vehicle for political involvement.

Members have also expanded into the social sector, starting a variety of workers' collectives in such businesses as recycling, "bento," (Japanese style boxed lunches) and home helper businesses. These enable members to work to their full poten-

tial and make a constructive contribution to their local communities. The co-op is also expanding in Korea, but because Korean law does not yet acknowledge the co-op system it operates there as one of the businesses of a mutual credit organization.

The Seikatsu Club also runs a Mutual Benefit Fund, a service which goes beyond simply selling



insurance as a product. Participants contribute 200 yen per month in exchange for monetary assistance in case of accident or illness. Also, psychological support and, if necessary, voluntary labour help, is provided. The not-for-profit fund is managed by a committee.

A WOMAN ALONE WITH HER SELF

I knew we were headed for trouble when he said
I think I'm falling in love with you
and I was thinking how a kiss
can blossom into lust so quickly
no matter who

Listen. Just because you create the illusion
of not being alone
doesn't mean I buy it
I watch you all alone together
and I know fine lines when I see them
I know you crave your freedom
and then you cannot stand it
I know about the buddy system
I see it coming to get you

I'm a woman alone with her self
I mean, men are a nice place to visit
I just don't want to live there
and I want to say yes to everything
I want to say yes to
and you know how men can be about that

A woman alone with her self
I mean, hanging with a man just takes
too much breath
You have to spend all your time
on forgiveness and you know what?
I don't have that much forgiveness left
and I need most of it
for myself

You know what I hate, though?
Saturday nights, New Years Eve, Valentines Day,
Cold, rainy Sunday afternoons
Anniversaries without the occasion

You know what I like?
Sleeping when I feel like it
and waking up with words
Eating cheese blintzes for dinner
Seven nights a week if I want to
I like having lots of secrets
I like not looking back

A woman alone with her self
A ready suitcase, hat in hand
Each time I go to leave
Her dancing shoes
Hide in my dreams

Gail A. Schilke

LIVING THE SPIRIT

AN INTERVIEW WITH PAULA GUNN ALLEN

Pat Andrade: Could you tell me a bit about how the anthology *Living the Spirit*, a Gay American Indian Anthology, came about? Certainly in terms of finding voices -- taking control of images, it is a very important book.

Paula Gunn Allen: Let me go all the way back -- long ago in 1974 or 1975 there was a young man called Randy Burns, who has functioned as president or vice-president for Gay American Indians for a number of years. He was a student at San Francisco State at the time I was teaching there and he came to me and said that he wanted to form a group, a club off-campus, called *Gay American Indians* devoted to, among other things, to unearthing the history of gay Indians throughout America, and compiling an archive. He wanted to know if I could help -- and I could help -- I could help but not a lot.

I'm not an historian but I could at least lend vocal support, and that's something I did. I went to a couple meetings which were really neat. All these years later, *GAI* is still trying to get all this stuff together. In the meanwhile there are a lot of writers, storytellers, who are gay, who are publishing. So, I

think consequently, as a result of this life long dream, not just of Randy's, but other people who got involved in *GAI* over the years, I think that's how the anthology was germinated.

Then, there was a man who belonged to *GAI*, who is himself not Native who edited the book, and that's Will Roscoe, and he was willing to take the time and go through the very difficult task of putting together an anthology. It's a very difficult process. So, he compiled both contemporary and ethnographic material from everywhere and then compiled them into a book. What you see is the final result of a lot of editing, a lot of culling. I think I am not as happy with the book as with the prospectus I read. I think, and I don't know this, but I guess, it got cut down by the necessities of trying to get a publisher. So there are a lot of traditional materials that aren't in there that I would have loved to have seen. There is work by a woman who is a very fine writer, but she is not herself a Lesbian. That bothers me. There is work by people who are not Indians, about Indians, that bothers me. And there is a frontispiece by a well known white writer who has spent a lot of time ripping off Indians, and has made quite the career from it, and



there she is in the frontispiece, and I'm kinda responsible for that in ways I don't want to go into in public, and I'm kinda bothered by that -- but mostly I think that the book would have been a larger book if there had been an appropriate publication outlet for what Roscoe had originally compiled.

As it is, the book is a beginning. It's got some really good stuff in it. I like the book -- it's like a promise for future books that might come out. I have no idea how it's doing at the booksellers so I don't know if it's going to be re-issued, because that kind of thing tends to generate new volumes. Homosexuality, male or female, was openly practiced among large numbers of tribes, prior to European conquest, which in some cases, means prior to 1925. We are not talking of long ago.

Among many traditional people today, gay people, lesbians, are perfectly reasonable members of the community. Everyone knows their sexual preference, and nobody's arguing with it or putting it down, or ridiculing it, but out in the larger world you don't acknowledge it; you don't, because they are going to come, and they are going to kill you all, because they don't approve of your sexuality. They aren't even going to make distinctions. They will kill everybody -- they don't care -- they can't tell one Indian from another, we all know this so nobody says anything. I consider those alienated from traditional culture -- so often they think they are very traditional, but they have been highly christianized, and they are very homophobic. They are terrified of homosexuals, they want them out, dead, beaten up; and some ugly stuff has happened

to gay people in Native communities -- I've heard some awful stories. People have been badly hurt, physically, emotionally, spiritually.

On the whole, my correspondence with people who are gay men or lesbians indicates to me that, by and large, there is a great deal of community support -- it's just not very big, not very loud, it might even be silent, but is large, notwithstanding some of the exceptions I have mentioned. The problem with the exceptions is that they are what are noticeable, and when lesbians or gay men are speaking to the lesbian and gay community they tend to focus on the homophobic responses and not to focus on the accepting responses, which is a real problem. Our gay community wants to play "Oh, ain't it awful," and so we sit down and we want to play too, so we come up with all the horror stories that we can think of.

I find that, by and large, the level of support is probably about seventy percent and the other thirty percent is not very supportive; and that seventy percent ranges from indifference to warmly accepting and that thirty percent goes from irritated, doesn't like it very much to vigorously trying to combat it -- stamp it out. -- Some people I know have been ostracized from the reservation. A couple have been declared spiritually dead. Some have been jailed on reservations, in tribal jails, vilified and abused.

These were young people, but on the whole the letters I get, the folks I talk to, the gay Indian people [say] there isn't as much of that going on as you might think. There is an ambivalence in the Indian world about sex roles, gender roles, and about everything you can imagine, because we are required to live in a white world, but we are not white. We don't think like white people; our traditions are not white, they are not European, they are not Christian; but at the same time we are Christian, we are educated in their school system, we do watch their television, read their books, all those things. So we have within images of the white world and images of our own parts and we often don't know which is the one that is truest to our own way.

We get mixed up, and you see what that makes happen in respect to homosexuality, as it happens in respect to battery, and how to raise kids, how to deal with the old people, how to spend tribal funds, whether or not we ought to be professionals and have our own group of lobbyists, and until they come to terms with that, frankly, their life isn't going to be very good even if we all vanish, even if there wasn't an Indian left in the world



their own memory will never let them rest. They are very foolish to think that if they obliterate us it will all go away. They don't belong here. They stole this, it isn't theirs, and they won't pay for it. They won't admit it and they won't talk about it, but there is a lot we can do about it. We can stop accepting our stories about who we are, we can quit listening to them, we can teach our children to stand up in the classroom and say "that's not true." We can teach them to say, "You call my mother or my dad or my uncle and they will come and talk to the children about what the truth is about us. We can do those things and I think we had better. We have got to decide we are not the brutes that we were described as. We are going to destroy us ourselves. We don't need them to destroy us anymore - and they know it.

Pat: In talking about the way time has distorted, erased, aspects of life as if existed before, certainly something that I have noticed is the incredible silence that exists around the whole issue of native people who are gay and lesbian, and I think that's the key word for me, really, in terms of my personal experiences -- is the silence -- there is such an incredible silence. I can't emphasize that too much. Do you want to address that?

Paula: The thunderous silence. I think that it's a very complicated issue. When I wrote the essay that was at the time called *Beloved Women -- Lesbianism in Native American Culture* that is in *Sacred Hoop*, I spoke at the National Lesbian and Gay March in Washington in 1978, and a woman who edited *Conditions* magazine, which is a lesbian magazine in New York city, came up to me after my minute and a half -- I think I had a minute and a half -- to say something. She came to me and asked me if I could write an article for the journal. She wanted it for a year and a half from then, so it was easy for me to say, "Oh, sure."

Well, I agonized for over a year because I know the white man doesn't approve of homosexuals or lesbians -- in fact, he tends to think that's cause for murder. It's okay to kill people if you don't like their sexual orientation, and of course you don't like their sexual orientation if it's anything other than heterosexual, missionary position monogamous let's get married and have babies. You don't like it if it's anything other than that, so you kill it. And I know the white man's tendency to kill anything that he doesn't like -- which, by the way, I don't think is a characteristic of the so-called right wing community, I think it's a characteristic

of Americans in general: they don't like it, they kill it. They have different ways of talking about that, but that's essentially what they want to do. It's the frontier ethic. Get a gun.

Anyway, then, there is the problem of how the world around us thinks about Indians -- if they think about us at all. We are people, who should be vanquished, should be destroyed, should be killed. If the Indian people do anything to attract negative attention, it tends to result in the death of an Indian or three or ten. So my fear was if I said anything at all about lesbianism in the traditional world of Native America before the white man, after the white man, without respect to the white man, then I was inviting that gun to come in and blow us away. I had no right to do that; no one had any right to do that, we had to live. In the Indian community the silence you are hearing is the consequence of exactly that.

We don't like to talk about the violence, we don't like to deal with it. We don't like to talk about the forced sterilization of Indian women and men at Indian health service hospitals or public health service hospitals. We don't want to deal with any of this stuff. We feel helpless, we feel power-



less, and we feel useless to do anything about it, but we also have an enormous tendency to believe the white stories about us. Since we are savages, hostile, horrible people who murdered all those innocent women and children during the white settlement period -- since that's how we are -- how can we ask for anything else, how can we expect that the men don't beat up the women, how can we expect that there isn't a lot of disease and disturbance and violence and suicide among us? That's what all the white books say, and that's what they teach us in schools about ourselves, so how can we expect it to be any different? All we can do is hope that some white will come and save us from ourselves because we are no good, and that tends to generate a hopelessness and that hopelessness tends to generate violence. There is no place else to go with that anger except for it to implode inwardly, and it does implode inwardly.

So we have a combination of forces working here to add to this horror of battering, abuse and violence that needs to stop. One of the issues is that we have been defined as a violent people. It took a long time to convince us, but propaganda always works eventually. If you control everything they think you can get them to believe it, and so we are

believing this nonsense. We also tend to believe that should die, we should vanish. Our teen suicide rate is the highest for any group in the nation, because these children are believing they should die, because they are being told that over and over again -- the Indians all went away -- the Indians all died -- I am an Indian -- I must be dead.

My nephew was taken by his mom to one of the dances by the pueblos. He was little, maybe three or so, and she kept saying for him to go out and dance; but no, he wouldn't, and finally, in great indignation because she wouldn't ignore him, he said, "I can't dance, I'm not Indian", and she said, "Miguel, yes you are, you are Indian, you can dance," He said, "I am not Indian, I am not dead."

You see, he had watched his morning cartoons, he knew what the truth was, and our children are killing themselves because they are Indians, therefore they must be dead, and they die. The power of image is utterly terrifying. It leads to battery, it leads to rape, it leads to demoralization at levels that are almost impossible to contemplate. It leads to death at all levels, which of course in the long run leaves the white world happy because they wouldn't have to think about us any more, of what they did or what they are doing.

On Growing Up Indian

by Randy Lewis

The reason you have Indians who have become part of the gay world isn't by choice. The gay world is a sub-culture; it is a community that has been designed because they cannot exist within their own culture, so they have created their own family, mostly in urban areas. American Indians, Alaska natives, Canadian natives, finding they cannot exist in their own communities have become part of these communities; but as a whole Indians don't feel they belong to them because first of all most Indians I know who I talk to nothing is more paramount in their lives than their orientation, their forced orientation, as far as being Indians.

Sexuality doesn't define them; it doesn't define who they run around with, what they do; their Indian-ness does. Yet we deny them that right, we deny them the right to be Natives, to be Indians from their communities. We may not be overt about it -- hell, we can be quite sneaky and shady about

it, we can undermine them as children. I know a lot of children who grew up in Salilo, whose grandmothers raised them, and everyone in Salilo spoke Indian. Everyone. I can't think of anyone down there who didn't; even the store owner who was white spoke Indian, and you could always tell those kids whose grandmothers brought them up because they sounded like old women when they were four years old. That was pretty okay, though, because when kids are about five years old and start going to school and running around with each other, they make the break themselves, they see how other little boys make that transition.

One of the greatest crimes one could commit was pointing to them and saying, "Look, he talks like a woman." I never heard that done. That would be a crime on you, not on the child. It would be reflected on you so you never saw that; but now, should it happen, a father would probably disown his child, but that's okay for the most part because

most fathers may father their children, but they hardly ever are parents to their children. I say that for fact, because I know it; I've watched my brothers.

These are some of the greatest sport fuckers in the world. They go from basketball tournament to basketball tournament laying their seeds across the country. They don't know where half their family is. I come from a family of seventeen kids. When my dad died there were six stepwives there. It's not uncommon. I find that throughout Indian country. Yet we have these double standards -- men can go out sowing their wild oats wherever they care to; that's morally acceptable, or at least it has been until this time. I think gradually I see more women asserting a few more laws and rights within their own home, but it's been a false sense of values, and maybe an over-emphasis on a man's role that has kind of clouded a lot of things, and I started wondering why.

I think one of the reasons is, (or what I surmise to be the reason,) you know, a century ago our people were not many more in numbers, actually, but our men had a meaningful place within the tribe. We were hunters, we were warriors, we were protectors of our people; I call them horse liberators, I don't call them horse thieves, I call them horse liberators because the people we took them from had no respect for them to begin with, so we liberated them from the white people. We had a place; men had a place within the culture. Since then, reservations having been established, a man's role, a man's occupation came to an end also, or at least discredited it.

So, what happened to him? Well, for the early stages, there were very few men who survived. I think that's a real reflection if you start looking at it. There were very few men; our

existence, or subsistence, became dependant on the non-Indian culture, through annuities, rations being delivered to the reservation, mostly just to barely stave off starvation. We were given plows and jackasses; people who had no land that could be farmed -- we were given land that was unfarmable, in areas white people didn't want. We were given these impossibilities to exist, but still we existed; but it doesn't deny the fact that our role model, our men's role model, was gone. All it takes is that one generation, two generations.

You women are lucky; your role stayed intact. I am not saying it's been easy, but you were fortunate in that respect; you are still the head of the household, not always by choice either; you are the mother, you are the keeper of the culture and in most cases the maintainer of the language, the nurse, the cook. I know they are not very glamorous, you can't romanticize about them very much, but your role, your employment, was a lot more secure.

Little girls had something they could look up to, little boys didn't. The role model they were



given was a drunk, again and again, not by choice, and is it a wonder that things have gotten where it is? Our role models were cowboys who came and went, "weekend warriors", I guess you could call them, people who hung around the bars, people who never hung around home.

I was very fortunate in that respect because I had my great-grandparents; they knew better than to leave me with my mom. She had all she could do just to put food on the table, when she was supporting a household full of children; and you know what's worse -- she was raising children and she was raising her husband, because we have little boys who grow up to be big boys, and they always have mom. I'm sure you have seen it. You go to Indian homes, you always have the older boys hanging around and hanging around. You never outgrow your children, they are always there, and finally you get lucky and you die. Well, someone has to take the place of mom, so we get married and condemn some poor woman to a sentence in which there is neither pardon or parole: to forever be a mom to her husband, to her children. I mean, she'll be lucky if she has all daughters, then she will raise them and then she will just have her husband to raise.

It's done nothing for our boys; it's created a lot of strife and factionalism, a lot of division and a hell of a lot of misunderstanding in Indian communities, and a hell of a lot of friction. On my reservation, you know what the ratio is? There are six women to every man. That's due to a hell of a lot of suicide, homicide, fratricide, not to mention incest, child abandonment, alcoholism and drug addiction to the point of total oblivion. You know, the women on our reservation are the most highly educated, highly skilled, not to mention dedicated with the greatest amount of conviction of any of the workers of the employable work force -- yet they hold the lowest of all the paying jobs, the lowest rung on the ladder in employment. The people we have in charge of our reservation -- we have fourteen people in the duly elected business council -- and practically every one of them are men.

My father was a great example for me in one way, because I was able to see someone who had such immense love for his friends, his rodeo friends, the cowboys he hung out with. There was great camaraderie there. He showed them such love and generosity. But as for me, a dog could have done what my dad did for me as a father. He never showed the same love for his own children because it didn't fit into the image of Indian men. He was

only allowed to show such camaraderie to his friends.

A lot of Indian men are scared shitless. They have inherited and absorbed the Catholic virtues of guilt and shame. They are terrified of their sexuality, often trying to prove they are the barbarians that the media makes them out to be. There is a whole pub culture that's operating, where men sit around the pub all day and drink, and so what if they don't come home? They have some woman at home that will feed the kids, take care of them, and woe to the woman who deviates from that role. The men will beat the shit out of them, often deliberately disfiguring them so that no other man will look at them. The men are trapped in the image of what has been created for them and they will deal severely with those who deviate from that image.

I say to the women: you got to take power. Don't let them give you anything. If they give it to you, it ain't worth a fuck; you have got to take that power in order to show that you have the capacity to do so. It's like when colonists say, "We will give Indian people land rights." Bullshit! They aren't giving us fuck-all, we as Indian people are *retaining* those land rights.

I see a lot of men condescendingly and patronizingly giving women the right to do things -- that's bullshit. Experience has shown me that men aren't as concerned with the consequences of their decision making but with the fact that they have the power to make decisions.

I recently went back to the high school that I graduated from to make the commencement address. When I was at school, out of 160 Indians, four of us graduated. On this visit I saw one of my white teachers. I remember her saying that she was going to make damn sure we learnt English. And I sure learnt English, in fact I learnt it better than the white kids. And I went up to this former teacher and said something to her in my language. She was totally flabbergasted. She didn't understand what I was saying. I said to her, "You have been here thirty years, and you don't speak a word of Indian! Who are you calling dumb?"

Education, which is meant to help us survive, has instead been an exercise in cultural disintegration. Indian education is the last frontier of the Puritans.

I'm not giving up on Indian people. They might not like me, I might be an irritant to them, but they are stuck with me. A lot of Indian gays and lesbians just give up on their Indian communities too quickly.

Surviving Child Abuse

by Cheryl Bonfanti

I am a survivor of child sexual abuse and it has taken me some time to be able to admit it to myself that, yeah, I have family members that do not meet my expectations of what a family should be like. This part I cannot change, no matter how hard I try or want. I am married now for the second time, and I truly feel that my husband is the right mate for me for a life of happiness and love together.

My abuse started when I was between the ages of 8 -- 9 years old and continued until I was old enough to stop it myself at age 16. When I started to threaten to tell all of the neighbours and the preacher in our small town community, I was told that I was crazy and that I needed to be put in a mental institution. At one point my father even tried to have me committed to the Lynchburg Training School and Hospital for mentally ill people.

I am now doing an 11-year sentence because \$56.00 meant more to my sister and her husband than my going to prison. This was his way of getting his revenge and getting me to shut up and to stop talking about this sexual abuse. The justice system was his back-up, and it fell for all his lies. That's a small town court system for you.

In December of 1987 I entered the Virginia Correctional Centre for Women, in Goochland, VA. Here I have gotten the first chance to talk openly about my anger, hate and frustration over what has happened to me in my childhood. I am in a group of less than ten women, and we all have horror stories that we do not want publicized or printed on the front page of the local newspaper. By being in this group, I have been able to get all of these negative feelings out and start communications that are sincere. I would like to say that a lot of women that are here in prison need some type of support, and even though the types of support groups are few and far between I am so lucky to be a part of this group. Thank you, group members, for giving me the courage to write this article.

For as long as I can remember I have been so mad at the world, and really didn't know why, but I knew that my life was nothing more than a big fat lie. I had

pretended that I had the ideal childhood and the ideal parents, and all the time I hated the whole idea of what I was hiding and running from. I just didn't know how to get out of the lie or what to do.

When I first got here at the prison I put myself into all of the educational and outside programs that I could find. I had open space, and could run forever and not have to think about any of it until bed time. One day, that all changed when my counselor called me to her office. When I walked in, there sat another counsellor that headed up the survivors' group. At that time, I knew this was not going to be a good day to talk. I had to go through all of my garbage, and together all three of us cried and held each other for support. I couldn't run any longer, and the answers that I had been looking for were not to be found in any text book. I have since that time gone through my story again and again but, each time I do I learn more about myself. In the process, I continue to cry away my pain if that's possible. The members of the group give me courage to keep digging and be able to go on with my life and to be a better person in the long run.



My family continues to deny that any of this ever happened to me during my childhood. I know it is the truth, and I am the one who has to carry it around and deal with the scars of it all. The scars will last forever, but the pain has to be dealt with and made to go away. In order to do that, you have to be able to talk about it openly with others who have been in your shoes before. You are going to need lots of support from friends and family that are willing to hear you out and not judge you or blame you for what has happened in the past. When

you find that person you have a real friend and a firm support system.

I want to encourage all wimmin in and out of prison, if you have a horror story that you have been carrying around for years, find a good strong support group and give it all the extra baggage you have. You'll feel better to get it all out.

In most of the prisons there will be one group that stands out above the rest and this is the one that stands out here at VCCW.

LOOKING TO OUR ROOTS

GROWING UP UKRAINIAN IN CANADA

By Alys Murphy

My parents were people of the land. My father was from near Rohatin, my mother from near Skalat. They met and married in Toronto, and were active in Ukrainian Hall activities until 1945, when we moved to Scarborough, a suburb of Toronto. It seems every Saturday and Sunday of my childhood was occupied attending either weddings and *popravlinya*, or 25th anniversaries. Those were my connections to the Ukrainian community.

When I was growing up in Scarborough, then an almost exclusively Anglo environment, being Ukrainian was not something to be proud of. My names were mangled and happily mispronounced, as though it was an accomplishment not to be able to say them, until I could hardly wait to change by marriage to an Anglo name that I would not have to pronounce, explain or spell ever again. When my mother came to school functions, teachers would talk at her through me. They would say things in English to me, and I would turn and say them in English to her. Eventually, she stopped coming to the functions.

My leather boots, sheepskin-lined and carefully made by Nick Sendun, were an object of ridicule at school. In turn, I hurt my parents, who had scrimped to provide them, remembering bare-foot winters. I demanded boots from Eaton's, rubber ones like everyone else's. When my parents invited my schoolmates to supper in the gracious way of all Ukrainians, suspicious grimaces and "yuk" were the initial responses to the "funny" food --

until they tasted it. All the same, I got "jovial" comments about "garlic snappers." Need I go on?

Perhaps only to mention the time when I was a little girl, and was present to hear two Anglos, for whom my father had done a favour, compliment him by comparing him to a "white" man. That one took me back a bit...I thought I *was* white, if I ever thought of it at all. Small things, you may think, and so they may be -- but not to a child. They left their mark, and for many years I avoided being Ukrainian as hard as I could.

In the process of learning things unrelated to being Ukrainian, I learned some things about being





Ukrainian that shocked and surprised me. I learned that what my parents and I had experienced in this tolerant country was racism. I learned that racism is lies. I learned that one way to combat racism was to reclaim my culture proudly. I determined to unlearn the lies about who and what my people were, and to learn our true story.

I started to read. Not history books. History books are written by people with the power to make the books say what they want, not what is true. History books are not about our people in Ukraine, they are about who ruled over us. I read about political prisoners, about anti-semitism, about fascistic elements, genocide by nuclear accident, about deliberate starvation of six million people in Ukraine. I read about the treatment of the first Ukrainian immigrants, about IQ tests created to keep Slavs out, about persecution of the Doukhobors, stories of the IWW and the general strike, WW2 internment camps, and closing of our meeting places here in Canada.

I have been finding out what has really happened to us. How we were really treated through the past twenty centuries. I learned about who industrialized the land and exported the products to a central government, about invasions of Ukraine by those greedy to exploit and consume her resources, to subjugate and enslave our people to create their profit, to exterminate a way of life many thousands of years older than the history we are taught by rulers, and their enforcers, school, church and police.

We have had our pride and dreams and dignity wrenched from us, our children taken away under various guises, our earth-based religions exterminated

(preserved only in part by the cleverness of our wimmin.) We have been imprisoned for speaking or writing our language, punished for following our customs and culture, denied the ability to trace our connection to our ancestors through our mothers' line.

All this for power and profit.

The more things I learn about the history of Ukrainian people, the closer the parallels I see between our history and the history of the indigenous people of Canada. Like us, they have had their native land, language, culture, religion and children violently stolen from them. Have had their very names stolen from them. They too have been robbed, tortured, humiliated and murdered for the very same reasons -- power and profit.

Too many of their people, like too many of our people, have sought temporary refuge from their pain in alcohol. We and they have been blamed for that pain and humiliation, and called dirty, ignorant, shiftless. Those who have fought back are denounced as criminals and terrorists by those who make the profits and hold the power.

We, whose parents, grandparents and countless ancestors have lived on and loved Ukrainian land for tens of thousands of years, have a responsibility. We who have endured racism have a responsibility -- to not perpetuate it, and to not ignore it when it no longer directly injures us. Our responsibility is to *actively* oppose racism and to *actively* support those people here in Canada who are struggling for their own land, for their own self determination. Is that not the essence of the struggle of our parents and grandparents, and which continues today in Ukraine?

It is our ancient tradition to honour those who extend hospitality to us. This land belongs to those who are now engaged in their own struggle for life in Kanesatake... Lubicon... Kanewake... Ganienkhe... Restigouche... Temagami... Nitassinan... Akwesasne -- names that perhaps we don't learn to pronounce?

I dedicate this diatribe with love and pride and respect to the memory of my father, Michael Chojcan -- whose real name was Mikhaild Xoytson.



JOURNEYS THROUGH CENTRAL AMERICA

MORALE HIGH, BUT LONG PEOPLES' WAR INEVITABLE

by Jon Reed

Editors' note: while we were in limbo, Kick It Over received several reports from Jon Reed, a writer travelling in Latin America. We found these first-hand reports interesting, and offer the following excerpts from some of his reports.

I. Panama (Christmas, 1990)

In the destabilized wake of Just Cause, the U.S. and the Endara junta have done little or nothing to help the nation's estimated 15,000 war refugees, who continue living in schools, in refugee camps and in the homes of relatives. Nor has the government done very much for the battered majority population of the country -- the workers, students, Indians, campesinos, unemployed, and working poor. Despite a clamour by human rights organizations and the families of the killed and disappeared, neither the U.S. nor the Endara administration have offered anything substantial in the way of reparations, nor even minimal cooperation in identifying the dead and missing. In the light of what many Panamanians will tell you are thousands of dead and wounded -- many of whom, according to the opposition, lie hidden in unmarked mass graves inside U.S. military bases -- government callousness and indifference threaten to arouse a firestorm of anger.

Isabel Corro, of the Association of Families of the Victims of December 20, summarizes the rising ire of many Panamanians: "One year after the invasion, the dead call out to us from the mass graves, demanding justice. Our orphans grieve for their parents, who will never see them grow up, who will never have the privilege of knowing their own children. None of the crimes of the invasion will be forgiven, and none of our victims will be forgotten."

Recent polls indicate that the government has lost almost all of its support--with the notable exception of the wealthy elite, whom the underclass derisively called the *rabiblanco*s, the "white-tailed" oligarchy, who seem to be thoroughly enjoying their unfettered power and profit-gouging after 22

years of populist (Omar Torrijos, 1968-81) and pseudo-populist (Manuel Noriega, 1981-89) military rule. Although most Panamanians are opposed to a military-style coup to unseat Endara, 86% of those approached in a recent poll stated that "social justice" is definitely lacking in today's Panama.

As the Grinch Who Stole Christmas prepares for a 1991 mega-Blitzkrieg on the other side of the world, in the Persian Gulf, the grassroots rank-and-file of Panama are neither happy nor hopeful. Although an ever-broader segment of the grassroots are starting to get organized, common consensus has it that the fight for Panamanian sovereignty and social justice will be a long and uphill battle.

December 20, 1990. One year to the day after the Yankee Blitzkrieg. Thousands of black-clad workers, professionals, students, wimmin, *barrio* dwellers, and families of the murdered and disap-



peared have assembled in front of the Church of El Carmen in a middle-class neighbourhood of Panama City. Beneath banners denouncing the U.S. Southern Command's continued military occupation, and amidst placards condemning the political repression, mass firings and neo-liberal shock treatment of the "Civilian Dictatorship of Guillermo Endara," an energetic and militant crowd surges and chants through the commercial district of the capital.

The afternoon's protest is called *La Marcha Negra*, the Black March, or the March of Mourning. The mobilization has been organized by the Association of Families of the Victims of the Invasion and by the Committee of the Rescue of (Panamanian) Sovereignty. *La Marcha Negra* follows on the heels of three months of street demonstrations, strikes and protests organized by trade unions and a united front of the emerging popular movement.

In the economically destabilized, polarized and repressive aftermath of the invasion, the bulk of Panama's 2.3 million citizens are hard-pressed to survive and to get themselves organized. As a National University professor explained to me during the *Marcha*, "This is the worst political and economic crisis in Panama's history." As Raul Leis put it in an op-ed piece in today's *La Prensa*, "Panama today is an occupied country, with a non-sovereign government engaged in implementing an unpopular undemocratic program of economic readjustment." According to Leis and other analysts, the pre- and post-invasion damages of U.S. low-intensity and (high-intensity) warfare amount to four billion dollars in losses for the Panamanian economy--a crippling sum for an underdeveloped and dependent country whose Gross National Product has fallen to approximately five billion dollars per year (the GNP has fallen 25% between 1987-90.)

As *La Marcha Negra* continues its three mile procession toward the bombed-out ruins of El Chorrillo, a young woman in black jeans and shirt hands out a leaflet entitled "*Fuera Tropas Yanquis de Panama*" (Yankee Troops Get Out of Panama.) The leaflet summarizes the damages resulting from the war and the continuing occupation, and then catalogues some of the repressive measures taken by the Endara-Arias Calderon-Ford administration over the past twelve months, including mass police sweeps, searches and arrests in *barrio* districts by the Panamanian police and U.S. combat troops; the dislocation, razing and burning of squatter communities in Panama City, Colon and rural areas; repression against high school and college students; massive dismissals and criminal charges di-



rected against dissident government and private sector workers and the entire leadership of the trade union movement; and the violent suppression of street demonstrations here in the capital.

In the Banana and Service Industry Republic of Panama, unemployment stands at 25% of the total workforce. Forty per cent of the country's families are living in poverty. Consumer prices are rising; wages are being driven downwards; working conditions are deteriorating; crime and violence are increasing; and social services and benefits are being reduced. Since the first of the year, 20,000 of the country's 150,000 public sector workers have been fired from their jobs; many, if not most, for political reasons, according to opposition spokespersons and the non-governmental National Commission on Human Rights In Panama (CONADEHUPA.)

Another 90,000 private sector workers lost their jobs as a consequence of the U.S. economic blockade of 1987-89. In addition 40,000 citizens (unionists, students, journalists, intellectuals, citizen militia members, ex-military officials, etc.) are facing potential criminal charges in a government-inspired witch-hunt which has been characterized by CONADEHUPA as "judicial terror" -- all because of trade union or grassroots work carried out



during the Noriega era or for their armed or unarmed opposition to Operation Just Cause.

Not only have Uncle Sam's subsidies been meagre and slow in arriving, but these "gifts" are being delivered with extortionist-style austerity strings attached, i.e. demands that the Endara-Calderon-Ford junta privatize and "rationalize" the economy. This shock therapy -- currently in vogue from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego as well as in Panama--demands the firing of thousands of workers, sharp reductions in wages and benefits, the auctioning off of state-owned, trade-unionized sectors of the economy; the elimination of tariffs which have been used to raise government revenues and to protect Panamanian businesses from being swamped by the multinational corporations; and the implementation of higher prices and taxes for the consumers and lower-income majority. In short, Torrijos-era social democracy (or what was left of it after the Noriega debacle) is being eliminated in favour of the traditional Banana Republic model.

Following a cruel and Machiavellian pattern of U.S. economic policy in the region, Panama's aid is expected to be cut back significantly in 1991-92. This will mean further belt-tightening for the grassroots, but it will also mean higher profits for the multi-national corporations, who will be happy to take advantage of lower production costs and a weakened trade union opposition as they expand

strategic markets and salvage, at rock-bottom prices, the profitable sectors of the economy. Besides bolstering the sagging profits of the multi-national corporations, an ongoing IMF/AID program of institutionalized economic destabilization will undoubtedly provide a strong rationalization for a permanent military occupation to keep grassroots resistance under control, and a de facto, if not formally legal, control over the Canal Zone extending into the 21st century.

As disgruntled Panamanians will tell you on the streets, the real reason that the Bush Gang carried out Just Cause was not to capture the CIA's erstwhile partner-in-crime and accomplice in dirty tricks, Manuel Noriega, but to destroy a potentially populist and nationalistic Panamanian Army and to abrogate the terms of the 1977 Torrijos-Carter Canal Treaty, which calls for Panama to control the Canal and for the closure of strategic U.S. military bases by the year 2000.

In the *realpolitik* world of the 1990s, it is no longer necessary for the Washington-Tokyo-Berlin axis to make concessions to the Third World. Therefore, it is likely that the U.S. will do everything in its power to retain practical control over the Canal (even as Panamanian figureheads are placed in nominal authority), the military bases and the country itself as a 21st century neo-colony. As one of Bush's favourite strategic thinkers, Roger Fontaine, stated rather bluntly in February 1990: "with the abolition of the Armed Forces of Panama, the capacity of Panama to defend the Canal has been radically reduced, making it impossible to hand over the principle responsibilities (of running the Canal) at the beginning of the next century."

Endara's policies and the continuing destabilization have fueled the anger of a militant and increasingly well-organized grassroots resistance, which has carried out a series of mass street marches with up to 50,000 participants between October and December, as well as a quite successful national strike on December 5. Whereas *La Marcha Negra* was committed to nonviolence, there is a genuine armed resistance developing in Panama.

The real Resistance is definitely not pro-Noriega, who in the eyes of today's rebels never lifted a finger to help the poor, working class and campesino majority of Panama. Nor is it a Resistance which hopes to replace one section of the oligarchy with another set of militarists. The real Resistance in occupied Panama today is pro-internationalist, pro-grassroots, and conscious of the fact that building a mass based popular movement is

and will be today's, next year's and the next decade's priority.

Genuine acts of resistance and sabotage will be carried out, as opposed to *Guerra Sucia's* dirty tricks such as discotheque grenade attacks and spurious jailbreaks and police revolts. However, this Resistance will be subordinated to the building of a mass majority movement which is determined to implement the Torrijos-Carter treaty and take over the Canal, to close down the U.S. military bases, and to restructure the politics, economics and culture of Panama.

2. Costa Rica

Cruising in a Budget rent-a-car, under a glittering canopy of stars, a stone's throw from the pounding surf along Costa Rican highway 36 between the Panama border and the Caribbean port of Limon, the social and economic decomposition of Central America and the wars in El Salvador and Guatemala seem far away. But perhaps not that far away -- down the road there's an abrupt gash in the rainforest, the site of a CIA radio installation, *radio impacto*, which until recently beamed U.S. propaganda into Nicaragua and Panama. Now that pro-U.S. regimes have been installed on both sides of Costa Rica's borders, the 24-hour-a-day armed guards have been relaxed, but the barbed wire fence and cinder-block sentry post, standing in front of three gigantic radio towers, are a graphic reminder

that Costa Rica's bucolic social democracy and non-aligned foreign policy have become a thing of the past.

Some of the highlights of the week in Costa Rica's rightwing dailies, *La Nacion* and *La Republica*, include: the war in the Middle East and the steep rise in domestic gasoline and diesel prices; the IMF/AID-imposed consumer price hikes; more proposed cuts in social services; gunrunning and coke smuggling in Limon (carried out by a still-operational Nicaraguan Contra network); and the erection of a \$20 million U.S. military radar station on the Nicoya Peninsula. *The Tico Times*, the liberal San Jose English language weekly, has recently been running feature stories on Costa Rica's rampant deforestation; pesticide contamination; ecotourism; and the post-invasion situation in Panama -- this week covering the exhumation of a mass grave in Colon, filled with victims of the U.S. military intervention of last December.

Last night, shortly after driving past a pesticide-reeking banana plantation, I was forced to stop by an armed Costa Rican *Guardia* who pointed his U.S.-supplied M-1 carbine in my face and pawed through the van, ostensibly looking for contraband. His attitude and camouflage outfit were a drastic change from the polite demeanour and boy scout uniforms that I remembered the mostly unarmed Tico police wearing during the reign of Oscar Arias (1985-90.) But this is the new White House-tailored Costa Rica, I told myself, fired up to fight the war on drugs and subversion, and determined to elimi-



nate the "creeping socialism" of public welfare, consumer subsidies, and government control over banks, insurance companies, and utilities. In the post-Esquipulas, International Monetary Fund administration of President Rafael Angel Calderon, what really matters are U.S. transnational profits, government austerity, regional security (no more leftwing revolutions), and timely debt payments to the international bankers--not Nobel Peace Prizes.

I relaxed a little as he asked me in slurred, drunken Spanish "*Tiene usted una grabadora?*" (do you have a tape recorder?" I realized that he was looking more for a bribe than for a surface-to-air missile. If this had been one of the more repressive neighbouring banana republics, it would not have been that humorous. Still, for a country that supposedly abolished its army 40 years ago, there seem to be a lot of guns and security forces around.

According to the leftwing weekly *Adelante*, the tourist paradise of Costa Rica (population three million) now has 25,000 police and *Guardia*, counting the reserves and police auxiliary, with U.S.-prompted security expenditures increasing 30% in two years. These unnecessary and in fact unpopular increases in military spending are especially irrational, given the fact that the country is essentially bankrupt, with the highest per capita debt in all of Central America. Meanwhile consumer prices, as in all of Latin America, have risen sharply, while social services are being cut back or privatized, leading some analysts to predict that Costa Rica will soon be experiencing mass political protests, like its neighbours. A number of unions have recently gone on strike to protest the drastic price increases in public services, transportation, and foodstuffs, while leftwing intellectuals have loudly

complained about Costa Rica's transformation into just another U.S. client state.

Lately, it seems like negotiations have been in the news a lot -- between government officials and left-wing opposition movements in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua -- as well as negotiations here between the international bankers and the Costa Rican government. Today's news focuses on the latest maneuvers between Calderon administration officials and the U.S. AID debt collectors, who are demanding that Costa Rica step up the required

economic shock treatments that are being applied throughout Latin America. While already pauperized citizens have been sacking stores and supermarkets in the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Peru, and setting up street barricades in Managua, here people on the street are not doing much more than just complaining -- at least for the moment



Liberation News Service

3. Nicaragua

In Nicaragua, the Chamorro/UNO junta has been coerced into negotiations (although each time breaking government promises as soon as the strikes and negotiations end,) and in fact, has been forced to accept a form of co-governance, not because the Somocistas and the rightwing have mellowed

out, but because the Sandinista grassroots opposition is the strongest force in the country. As Daniel Ortega promised, the Sandinista rank-and-file may have lost the U.S.-sabotaged February 25 elections, but they are continuing the process of participatory democracy, "governing from below."

As recent events illustrate, if Chamorro's circle refuses to negotiate, or goes too far with their IMF-prescribed shock therapy, they'll be overthrown by the highly politicized and armed Nicaraguan majority (those 41% who voted Sandin-

ista or those who would have preferred to vote Sandinista but voted for UNO on pragmatic grounds.) As the neo-liberal shock therapy of the Chamorro administration literally threatens to destroy the

livelihood of the Nicaraguan working class and the poor, the Bush administration has offered very little in the way of economic relief, leading some analysts to speculate that Washington would welcome a civil war in the belief that this would lead to the final destruction of the Sandinistas.

During the July national strike, when heavily armed Contra militiamen shot it out with Sandinista strikers in the streets of Managua, Bush did offer his "help" -- in the form of a U.S. invasion force to crush the FSLN. Chamorro and her advisors wisely declined.

Even with the ending of the Contra war and the carrying out of two semi-victorious national strikes and largescale grassroots mobilization, things are not improving for the Sandinista rank-and-file nor for the overwhelming majority of the population. Prices have skyrocketed, unemployment has climbed to over 40%, social services have deteriorated, and the crime rate has soared.

Chamorro and the UNO gang are willing to negotiate when necessary, but they are also doing everything in their power to destroy the gains of the

Sandinista Revolution -- cutting off funds and jobs in all those areas where the Sandinista unions, co-operatives, and

grassroots organizations are strong; allowing the "demobilized" Contra army to seize land, rustle cattle, form rural zones of control, and establish

urban strikebreaking militias; and re-privatizing the land and the economy. But Chamorro's attempts to reverse *Sandinismo* are having mixed results. The majority of the Nicaraguan people are aroused and organized, Sandinista cadres have begun analyzing and correcting their past mistakes, and the popular movement is digging in for what promises to be a tough and protracted struggle.

Many of those who voted for UNO now say that they regret having swapped principle (their support for the revolution) for pragmatism (their

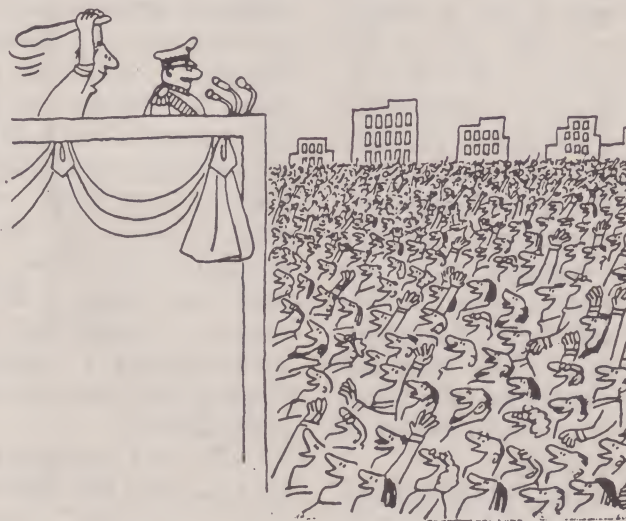
desire to end the Contra war and their belief that the economy would improve.) If there were an election or an armed uprising tomorrow, the Sandinistas would have the overwhelming support of the army, the police, the trade unions, and the people in general -- 80% of whom, according to the recent statistics, are living in conditions of poverty. But the overthrow of the Chamorro/UNO junta would undoubtedly be a bloody process, and the U.S. and its surrogate armies in Central America would probably intervene. So, for the moment at least, the Sandinista grassroots have decided to try to co-govern with the Chamorro gang, rather than overthrow them.

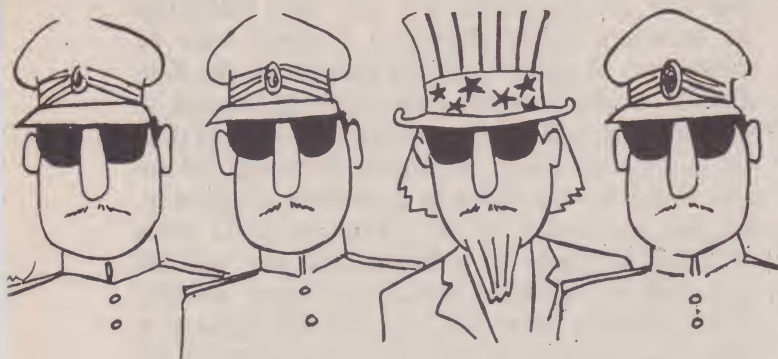
But peace and prosperity seem as far away as ever. A number of articulate Nicaraguans have expressed to me this year the belief that they do not expect to eventually gain their definitive liberation, but perhaps only at the same time that their Salvadoran and Guatemalan *companeros* do. In the Brave New World of the 1990s, no individual country is likely to be allowed to gain its independence from Big Brother and to chart an independent or alternative path. What

Central Americans and Latinos in general are facing is nothing less than a hemispheric crisis, for which the only possible solution is a regionalized solidarity and a regionalized resistance. Unfortunately, this adds up to a very long struggle, and many of the people on the bottom are already war-weary.

4. Guatemala

Staring out of a slightly cracked and dirty window on the *Galgos* (Greyhound) bus, I am fascinated by the scenery and activity along the roadside. The 1990 sugar cane harvest is in full swing on the agro-export plantations of Guatemala's Pacific coast, and the lush fields are filled with canecutters. According to economic projections, this will be the longest and most profitable sugar cane harvest in the country's history. Across the aisle from me, an old lady, wearing rubber sandals and a tattered dress, is refusing to pay the recently increased ticket price of





four *quetzales* (one dollar U.S.), insisting to the rude and threatening conductor that she has only three and a half *quetzales*. Yesterday, in Guatemala City, high school students built barricades and blocked streets in protest against the rise in bus fares.

As we roar past a *campesina* woman and her young, barefoot daughter on the side of the highway, both staggering under heavy loads of firewood strapped to their backs, I am reminded of the incredible greed and ruthlessness of the economic elite who run this country -- the 2% of the agribusiness operators who control 72% of the nation's arable land. It makes me angry to think about how the *Ladino* landed gentry are able to get away with paying 19th century wages -- between 64 cents and \$1.45 per day -- for 10-12 hours of backbreaking field work. Among the strawhatted, sweating canecutters, swinging their machetes, there are children who look no more than six years old. The indigenous and rural people call their child labourers *hombrecitos* and *mujercilas* (little men and wimmin), and many a family would literally starve to death if their children were in school instead of working alongside them in the fields.

Of course, in the light of the 147,000 assassinations and disappearances carried out by plantation gunmen and government security forces since the U.S.-inspired military coup of 1954, one has to think twice before insisting to one's *patron* that he raise one's wages, or repair the stinking *galera* one sleeps in, or provide potable drinking water so that one's family does not die from intestinal parasites. And yet, several weeks ago, 60,000 *finca* workers were brave enough to go on strike in the adjoining departments of Retalhuleu, Suchitepequez, and Escuintla, demanding better wages and working conditions. As usual, the plantation owners called

out the military and threatened to fire everyone, while the so-called "fledgling democracy" of President Vinicio Cerezo cynically promised to facilitate negotiations between the *patrones* and the fieldworkers' union (the semi-clandestine Campesino Unity Committee CUC, which in turn is part of the larger united front, Trade Union and Popular Action coalition, UASP.) Eight weeks later, nothing has come of these negotiations. A similar strike took place in January of last year, with similar results.

In the short distance between the Mexican border and Malacatan, we have already been stopped and searched four times -- twice by the Treasury Police, once by the National Police, and now by the military. The bus driver tells me that they're looking for drugs. But, when I discretely ask the young woman in a blue school uniform sitting next to me if this many *registros* are common in San Marcos, she leans over and half whispers that the army is looking for the guerrillas, who have been stopping vehicles on the highway and collecting "war taxes", as well as invading the larger *fincas* up and down the coast.

According to Guatemalan news sources, in 1989 the country's leftwing guerillas, the URNG (National Revolutionary Unity of Guatemala), set up blockades of roadways 187 times, temporarily occupied 11 municipal or county centres, and invaded 167 villages and *fincas*. As a Cakchikel Indian migrant labourer in Solola later explains, many of the large landowners in Guatemala are being forced to pay higher wages on their *fincas* after these invasions by the URNG -- who typically threaten to burn down the *patrones'* buildings or seize their crops if they continue to abuse their workers. In retaliation, hired hitmen and soldiers have launched a murderous wave of repression, singling out *campesino* and indigenous activists for assassination.

Today's newspaper reports that six dead bodies have been discovered in the agro-export Pacific region in the last 24 hours -- all bearing the typical marks of deathsquad-style executions. As a National Police officer admitted to me last year in the conflict-ridden zone of Santiago Atitlan, these types of assassinations are never investigated. Whenever there are obvious signs of death squad operations, i.e. groups of assailants or kidnappers with military type uniforms or weapons, vehicles with polarized windshields and license plates removed, corpses with multiple wounds or evidence of torture or mutilation, etc., law enforcement and judicial authorities never get involved, lest they themselves be-

come the next victims. At the end of March, the department of San Marcos records yet another Indian massacre, as five indigenous wimmin are kidnapped, mutilated and murdered.

As we approach a heavily guarded bridge just outside Coatepeque, I notice that a number of soldiers and pedestrians are leaning over the railing, looking down into the river. "Un muerto," (a dead body,) the driver says nonchalantly, as he stops the bus to let a green-uniformed Treasury policeman climb on board.

Several hours later, we are slowed to a halt by the largest traffic jam I've ever seen in Central America. Cars, buses and trucks, many loaded down with the cotton and sugar cane harvest, are backed up for miles on both sides of the Còyolate River bridge, destroyed in a spectacular sabotage action by URNG guerrillas last December. The bridge is a strategic artery for passenger and crop transportation in the Pacific region, and its destruction by the UMBRA is a potent reminder that the Guatemalan resistance has expanded from its traditional zones of operations in the highlands and jungles into the economic heartland of the country. Instead of the normal traffic flow, we are forced to drive, one vehicle at a time, over a U.S. military supplied "Bailey" bridge, with the massive, twisted steel and concrete of the old bridge structure lying in the river gorge below. On part of the destroyed bridge, hanging over the precipice, the army has neatly spray-painted a propaganda message: "A Gift from the URNG to the Very Noble People of Guatemala."

As I watch the sunset from a park bench in the picturesque town plaza of Antigua, five personnel carriers, *Armadillos*, rumble through the cobblestone streets. Recent fighting, artillery fire, and aerial bombing in the nearby

villages of Santa Maria de Jesus and Magdalena Milpas Altas have alarmed the residents of this popular tourist spot, located 45 km. west of the capital city. According to local military sources, there's a fear that the URNG may be planning to disrupt Antigua's Easter Week celebrations this year, when thousands of foreign visitors and upper class Guatemalans converge on the city.

Since the powerful Salvadoran FMLN guerrilla offensive of November 1989, the U.S. invasion of Panama the next month, and the February 25 1990 Nicaraguan elections, more and more opposition activists in Guatemala seem to agree that only a regional resistance campaign, coupled with internal changes in the USA, will bring about a negotiated, socially just solution to the generalized crisis of the region. Thousands of highly politicized Salvadorans have taken temporary refuge in Guatemala over the last few months, and their interactions with the aboveground and clandestine resistance here seem to have had a beneficial effect on the overall morale of the movement.

If the Salvadorans can eventually defeat their death squad democracy, so can the Guatemalans. Unfortunately, the Bush administration can be expected to try to crush any future leftwing revolution in the hemisphere, as the recent Nicaraguan experience shows. As an activist in the countryside recently explained to me, Guatemala and the countries of Latin America will eventually gain their liberation -- but more as a bloc, rather than individually -- and in the meantime, it's going to be a long, bloody struggle. For the moment, things are worse than ever in Guatemala and Central America, but the signs of grassroots rebellion and resistance appear to be growing.



SLIDEBANK FOR SOCIAL ACTIVISTS

Have you run out of friends and relatives to show your slides to and now those slides sit on a closet shelf -- unorganized, unused, unseen, unappreciated? Well, that was the beginning of an idea that culminated in the founding of the **Kai Slide Bank**, a slide collection for social change activists in helping to make slide show documentaries. Major categories include Pollution, Sexism, Violence, Racism, Transportation, Health, Class, Economics, and Native Peoples, in addition to Children, Women, Men, Animals, Birds, Graphics, Energy, Industry and Peace.

But why start such a slide bank? Because in major cities commercial slide banks in North America start with fees of \$70.00 per slide! So **Kai Slide Bank** was established seven years ago with the collections of its founding members, and was incorporated as a non-profit group with fees as near to cost as possible (as long as showings are non-commercial and no one is making money from the final product. In those cases, a sliding scale is used).

As word spread, people with under-used slides gathering dust were encouraged to bring them out of those closets and to place them in the collection, so that now there are nearly 15,000 slides available, and one feature of the collection is worth noting: the photographers continue to own their pictures, not **Kai Slide Bank**. The slide bank only wishes access to the slides, not to own them, and so asks photographers to leave them on file for a minimum of five years in order to guarantee maximum circulation. (In the unlikely event that **Kai Slide Bank**

should ever fold, the slides would continue to be the property of the photographer and not of the slide bank.)

The individuals and groups that have used the collection to date are many and varied: **Black Theatre Canada**, **Medical Aid to Nicaragua**, the **Bahai Peace Project**, **CUSO**, the **Coalition for Lesbian and Gay rights in Ontario**, **OPIRG**, the **Native Canadian Centre**, and **Pollution Probe** among scores of others. The documentaries these groups and individuals have made include such issues as uranium mining, anti-racism work, women's issues, homophobia, alternate schools, patient-oriented health clinics and class issues. And the slide bank itself has made an introductory slide show on how to make effective slide shows, complete with 140 slides, audio cassette and a copy of the script. Its

title: *How to Make a Slide Show for Social Change*. **Kai Slide Bank** sells this kit at cost, \$190.00 Cdn. Running time is thirty-four minutes.

If, then, you are a picture taker who'd like to see your slides used in a positive way, get in touch with the Slide Bank. They are looking for well-exposed, in-focus slides (not prints) that might relate to any of their major categories. Content is as important as

beauty; they need slum shots as much as palm trees. And what's in it for you? Recognition by way of photo credits where possible, and the satisfaction of seeing your slides put to good use. And knowing that, instead of owning slides that are fading on a shelf, your pictures are being stored under archival



conditions (temperature/light controlled) and that you still have access to them.

The name of this unique group, **Kai Slide Bank** honours Kai Yutah Clouds, one of their co-workers and a long time activist in Native issues. When Kai discovered that the toxic chemicals DDT and Aldrin were being shipped by US charities like Oxfam to Guatemalan Native peoples following the 1976 earthquake (both chemicals are banned in North America) he returned to that region to try to undo some of the damage multinationals were inflicting there for reasons of their own profit. Unfortunately, the Guatemalan government discovered his work by a mistake made when friends in Toronto publicized his work without his permission. Within weeks he was seized and tortured to death.

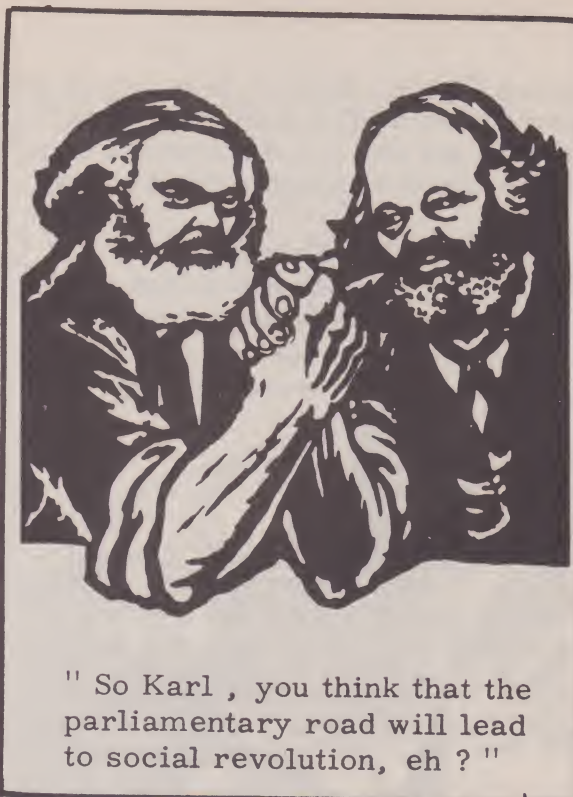
For more information or details on **Kai Slide Bank**, write to

Kai Slide Bank

P O Box 5490, Station A

Toronto, Ontario Canada M5W 1N7

Telephone: (416) 964-1278



SMASHING THE IRON RICEPOT

Smashing the Iron Rice Pot

by Leung-Wing-yue

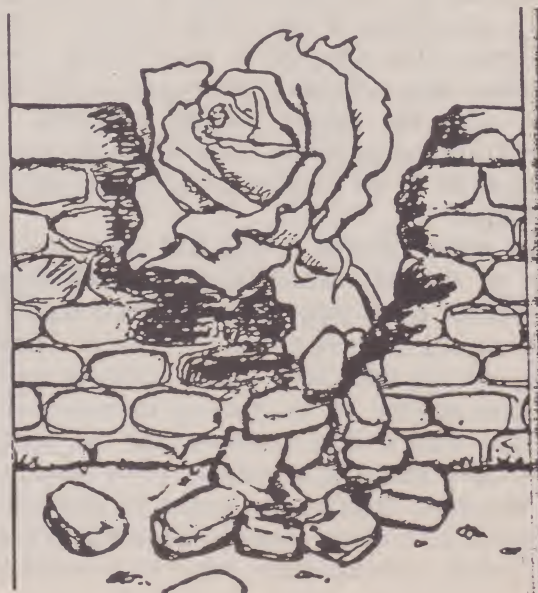
Published by Asia Labour Monitor @ 1988

Reviewed by Bruce Allen

Last year's events in China at first amazed and then outraged people around the world. Almost no one anticipated them and few seemed to grasp their meaning. Unfortunately, labour organizations proved to be no different in this respect and, consequently, were nowhere to be seen during the protests following the Beijing Massacre.

Labour organizations should have been prominent in the outcry. A strong working class presence would have demonstrated a real commitment to the defense of basic democratic rights. It would also have enabled us to stress that workers comprise a mighty force within China's democratic movement, and how worker involvement in last year's events gave birth to an independent Chinese labour movement. In addition, such working class participation in the protests would have been a timely show of solidarity with workers in a country striving to become a real force in the world economy.

Asia Labour Monitor's recently released book **Smashing the Iron Rice Pot** is indispensable both to grasping this latter development and seeing the related need for an independent Chinese labour



movement. This new work also helps us to see why so many Chinese workers made common cause with the students and why it is in international labour's interest to support the struggles of both groups.

"We can only begin to tackle the concrete and barbed wire that divides our world when we start with that on our own doorstep."



The two main concerns addressed in *Smashing the Iron Rice Pot* are labour organization in China and the impact of recent Chinese economic reforms on workers. The book's author clearly shows that the existing trade unions in China are effectively subordinate to the ruling Chinese Communist Party. He also shows that, despite this, these unions have exerted some organizational autonomy, with the degree varying according to changes in the ruling party's leadership and corresponding shifts in the Chinese government's industrial strategy.

The author likewise reveals that the economic reforms of the last decade were imposed from above without much input from the trade unions, and with mainly negative effects on workers. These reforms, we are told, set China's economy on a new course marked by an opening to investment from other Pacific Rim countries and the west. They included measures to reduce central planning of the economy, enhance the power of enterprise managers and to create Special Economic Zones where foreign transnationals enjoy unprecedented

opportunities to exploit China's vast underpaid work force.

Due to the reforms, the real incomes of many workers have risen. But, according to the author, the changes have also led to widespread unemployment, worsening industrial safety standards, weakened social security, widespread forced overtime and even the removal of the right to strike from China's constitution.

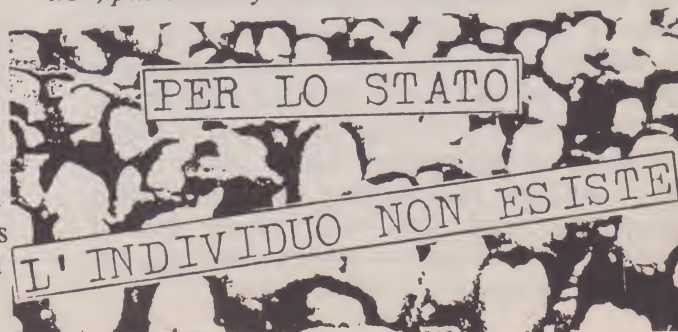
The author maintains that the transnationals applied much of the pressure for these anti-worker reforms. Their implementation showed that China's rulers are quite willing to slash labour costs to attract foreign currency and technology.

The author also stresses that due to the reforms China now offers transnational corporations the cheapest labour force in Asia. He further notes that this has even led to situations where corporations located in countries like the Philippines have responded to union activity with threats to shut plants down and move them to China.

The picture presented is not entirely bleak, however. The reader is given ample information concerning worker resistance, and it is noted that the Special Economic Zones are particularly prone to strikes. Most significantly, the author notes how the wave of student protests affecting ten cities in December 1986 was accompanied by worker unrest, including strikes, that alarmed China's rulers. This reveals that the 1989 Beijing Spring was but the most recent and spectacular chapter in an ongoing struggle for democratic change.

In view of this and the worsening abuse of China's workers rooted in the drive to integrate China into a world economy dominated by a few hundred corporations, the need for working class militants in all countries to take a serious interest in the struggles of China's workers should be obvious. So should the need to take a serious look at this invaluable and insightful work.

Bruce Allen is an activist in CAW Local 199 and the author of Germany East: Dissent and Opposition, published by Black Rose Books.



THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

Tribes Forcibly Moved

INDONESIA: An earthquake which killed over 100 people in August 1989 has been used by the Indonesian government as an excuse for the forcible removal of the Hupla tribal people, who were transferred to a lowland site under the pretext of providing them with geologically stable land. The Hupla were told that they would receive no further emergency aid if they did not leave their lands, which are believed to be rich in mineral resources.

The land on which they were settled, at Elim, is already owned by another tribe and infested with tropical diseases, to which the highland Hupla have no resistance. Within the first few months of the program, 15 of them died of malaria or malnutrition. Over \$125,000 worth of aid sent to the Hupla by other countries and the Indonesian people was seized by Indonesia, and some of it was used to fund the coercive resettlement program. Only the donations channelled through church organizations reached the people. The forcible resettlement is part of a plan by Indonesia to move tens of thousands of tribespeople out of the resource-rich Baliem Gorge region so that the state can seize the resources and the people can be coerced into "civilizing."
from: *Survival Bulletin*,
October, 1990.

Major Polluters Listed

NEW YORK: The Earth Day Wall Street Action Handbook recently listed the fifteen top corporate contributors to global pollution, based on 1987 figures and identifying only major pollutants, as being:

DuPont -- firearms, ammunition, polyester and acrylic fibers. Income: \$33.3 billion; outgo: 223.3 million pounds of chlorobenzene.

Royal Dutch Shell -- gas and oil, Dieldrin pesticide. Income: ?; outgo: 211.1 million pounds of acids and petrochemical pollution.

British Petroleum -- polyethylene, Purina pet foods. Income: \$1.2 billion; outgo: 197.2 million pounds of petrochemical pollution.

American Cyanamide -- Old Spice, Pine-Sol, Roach Control. Income: \$305 million; outgo: 120.3 pounds of acids and solvents.

Occidental Petroleum -- oil, IBP beef and pork. Income: \$302 million; outgo: 114.6 pounds of chlorine and solvents.

Agrico Chemical Company -- fiber optics. Income: \$98 million; outgo: 100.9 pounds of acids.

ASARCO -- silver, lead, zinc, asbestos mining. Income: \$207 million; outgo: 95.2 pounds of heavy metals.

EXXON -- gasoline, coal mining, nuclear fuel fabrication. Income: \$76.4 billion; outgo: 85.1 million pounds of petrochemicals and oil spills.

Inland Steel -- steel, iron, limestone. Income: \$262 million; outgo: 81.5 million pounds of toxic metals.

Monsanto -- Nutra Sweet, polystyrene, Roundup, Bovine Growth hormone. Income: \$591 million; outgo: 75.8 pounds of metals, dioxin, PCBs.

Eastman Kodak -- film, paper, chemicals. Income: \$17 billion; outgo: 75.8 million pounds of chlorinated solvents.

Vulcan Chemicals -- dry cleaning chemicals. Income: ?; outgo: 73.4 million pounds of pentachlorophenol, solvents and phosgene gas.

Dow Chemicals -- Saran Wrap, Cepacol, Spray'n'Wash, napalm. Income: \$16.6 billion; outgo: 23.3 million pounds of petrochemicals.

Urban Carbide -- chemicals, carbon, plastics, industrial gases. Income: \$11.9 billion; outgo: 23.5



million pounds of petrochemicals.

Pfizer Pharmaceuticals -- Coty products, recombinant DNA research. Income: \$5.4 billion; outgo: 11,200,000 pounds of metals.
from: Earth Day Wall Street Action Handbook,
P.O. Box 1128, Old Chelsea Stn,
New York, NY,
USA 10011.

Who Owns What

USA: Here are some statistics about the USA compiled by Labour Research Association/Z Magazine:
total household wealth owned by top 1% of population: 34%.

total household wealth owned by bottom 80%: 18.5%

total household wealth owned by bottom 40%: 0.8%

total financial wealth owned by top 1%: 48%

total financial wealth owned by bottom 80%: 6%

total financial wealth owned by bottom 60%: 0.7%

value of outstanding stock shares owned by top 1%: 90%

ratio of average corporate executive's salary to that of a blue-collar worker in 1980: 25 to 1.

ratio today: 90 to 1.

number of billionaires in America in 1978: 1.

number today: 99.

number of millionaires in America in 1978: 450,000.

number today: 2 million.

income ratio of the top 20% of Americans to the bottom 20%: 12 to 1.

same ratio in West Germany: 5 to 1. in Japan: 4 to 1.

percentage of U.S. federal government's debt owned by top 10%: 80.

amount taxpayers paid in interest on federal debt since 1981: \$1.3 trillion.

from: The Portland Alliance v.11, n.3
2807 S.E. Stark,
Portland, Oregon,
USA 97214. (subs \$15 U.S.)

Moratorium a Sham

PAPUA NEW GUINEA: The two-year moratorium on the issuance of new timber permits here, announced last April in an attempt to rectify gross disregard of environmental regulations and illegal issuance of timber permits, was applauded by the international community but now appears to have



been a farce. So many exemptions were allowed to create new timber rights purchases that the moratorium was effectively gutted. In Madang province, for instance, roughly one third of the remaining forest is now covered by new permits, with no landowner associations established to approve them. One company that has been indicted for illegal timber practices has been given permission to continue operating under a new name. Those concerned should write: Karl Stack, Minister of Forests, Department of Forests, P.O. Box 5055, Boroko, Papua New Guinea.

Rainforest Action Network

301 Broadway, suite A,
San Francisco, CA

USA 94133.

(to subscribe, donate \$15-\$100 U.S.)

Blood For Oil in Ecuador

ECUADOR-Among examples of the rape of the Ecuadorian Amazon by American oil companies:

-Texaco has spilled an estimated 17 million gallons of oil, and plans to abandon the area where this has happened without cleaning it up.

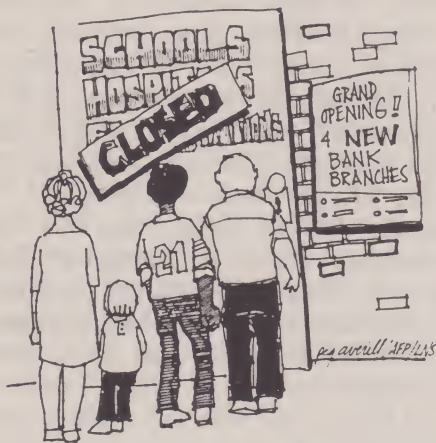
-Conoco (a subsidiary of DuPont) is developing an oil project that, by the end of the century, will obliterate the culture of an entire people, the Huao-rani.

-ARCO is developing nearly half a million acres of untouched rainforest for oil production; it has already cleared over two thousand acres, destroying many *purinas* (agricultural subsistence lands) developed by the natives. Water pollution caused by inadequate waste treatment at oil camps has led to skin and stomach disease among the natives, who are being "pacified" by the Ecuadorian military and American evangelical missionaries.

The Ecuadorian Amazon is home to an estimated ten per cent of all species on earth. Protest letters may be written to:

Lodwick M. Cook,
Chief Executive Officer,
ARCO,
515 Flower Street,
Los Angeles, CA
USA 90071.

Rainforest Action Network,
March, 1991 Bulletin,
301 Broadway, Suite A,
San Francisco, CA,
USA 94133.



World Bank Destroys Rainforest

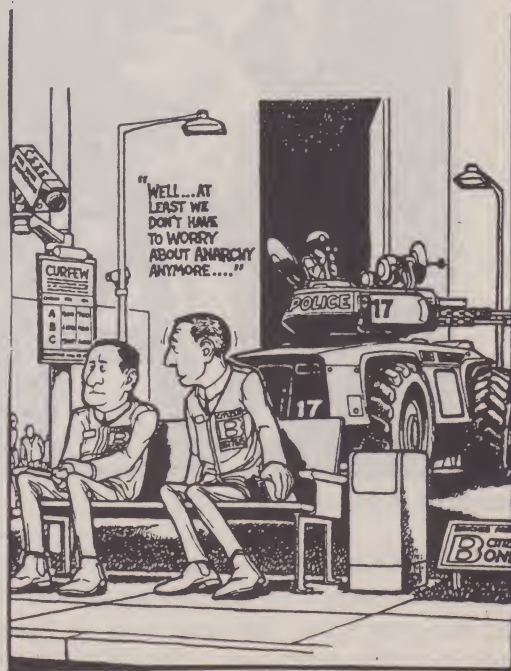
Since the early 1980s, the World Bank has sponsored the disastrous Polonoroeste "development" project in the Amazonian rainforest in northwestern Brazil, loaning \$500 million to build a 1000-mile road through rainforests in the states of Rondonia

and Mato Grosso. Encouraged by their government, over a million landless poor from other parts of the country have migrated to the region to establish farms. They clear forest, destroying most of the fragile soil in the process, and so are only able to grow crops for a few seasons. As crops fail, settlers move on to clear new land, further deforesting the Amazon. Mining activities have further degraded rainforest ecosystems, causing toxic mercury contamination in the entire food chain along the Madeira River. Denied even the most basic health services, the Indians face extinction from disease.

Having failed to live up to its previous promises to protect certain areas from being cut down, Brazil is now seeking an additional \$167 million from the World Bank to "protect" the remaining areas from deforestation. Until it does begin living up to past agreements, Brazil should be denied this loan.

Canada contributes over \$300 million a year to the World Bank, and Canadians are asked to write urging this policy to their MP, to the federal finance minister, and to Frank Potter, Executive Director for Canada, World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington DC USA 20433. For more information:

Friends of the Rainforest
Box 4612, Station E,
Ottawa Canada
K1S 5H8.



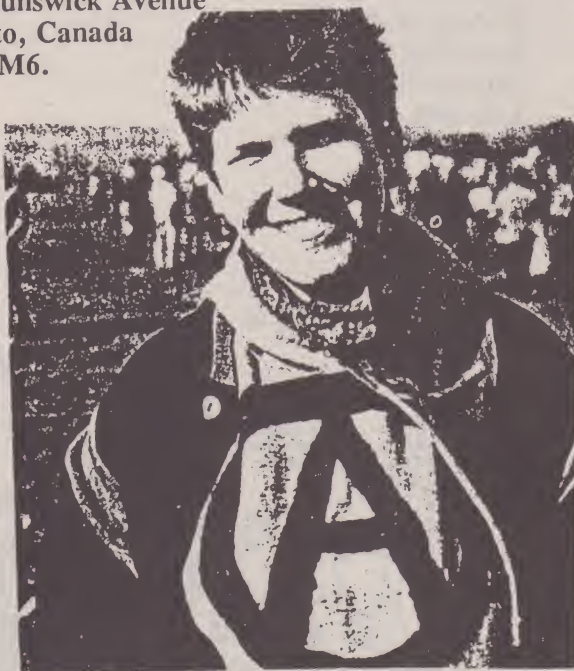
In Brief

Help Eastern Bloc

Adopt-A-Group is proposing a direct group-to-group contact and exchange between anarchist groups in eastern and central Europe with those in the west. Isolated by decades of Stalinist repression and isolation, the eastern groups have had access to few anarchist books, pamphlets, magazine subscriptions, fliers of local activities, cassettes and other resources. Instead of each western group trying to inform all the eastern groups, this project proposes that each group here focus on one group there and send them whatever materials they request. The western group could organize benefits to give financial assistance to its adopted group.

Anarchist groups wishing to be networked in this manner should contact:

Stephen Dankowich
ACT for Disarmament (Toronto)
225 Brunswick Avenue
Toronto, Canada
M5S 2M6.



Anarchist Research Centre

LAUSANNE: The library of the International Centre for Research on Anarchism (CIRA) is open at its new premises. Services such as loans, biographical information, etc. are available for all

readers having paid the annual subscription fee (Sw. fr. 40, or the equivalent of approximately US \$25, UK 15 pounds.) Consultation is also possible by correspondence; books are loaned abroad; photocopies of publications and articles can be provided; a twice-yearly bulletin is published.

The library will be open every weekday from 4 to 7 p.m., or by appointment.

CIRA

Avenue de Beaumont 24

CH-1012

Lausanne, Switzerland

Tel. (021) 32 48 19 or 32 35 43

Smoke Detectors Dangerous

McCALL, IDAHO: Researcher Craig Wasson reports that there's at least a 95% chance that the smoke detector in your home contains extremely dangerous radioactive material. The name of this material is Americium 241, the radioactive by-product of depleted Plutonium 239 (nuclear waste.)

At one time, smoke detectors used photoelectric cell detectors, in which harmless visible light was deflected by smoke particles to a photo-cell in order to trigger its alarm. Now, however, the alarm is triggered by Americium 241. According to Dr. Edward A. Martell, an environmental radiochemist with the National Centre for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colorado, "there are thousands of lethal doses in one microcurie of Americium 241."

Why the change? Many states that had once allowed nuclear waste to be dumped in their soil, accepting the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's (NRC) assurances of safety, had changed their minds about both the waste and the Commission, and didn't want any more of either. Faced with the problem of what to do with the nuclear waste that was accumulating at a staggering rate at all nuclear reactor sites, the NRC decided that smoke detectors would be a good place for it.

The NRC has licensed and promoted the legal and moral transfer of an unbelievably toxic radioactive waste, which will remain dangerously toxic and carcinogenic for thousands of years, by selling it to householders under the guise of protecting themselves and their families from fire. These appointed bureaucrats have consistently over-

ridden such elected politicians as have tried to stop this procedure. (From the author's research paper.)

Human Economy Network

The Human Economy Network is facilitating communication between persons who wish to contribute to the development of alternative economics. Its goals include:

Assisting the work of existing organizations which share similar concerns (including The Other Economic Summit TOES, the Society for a Human Economy, The Living Economy Network/U.K., and the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, among others.)

Attracting new people to this network, and introducing them to these organizations.

Identifying the interests of network participants, and putting those with similar concerns in contact with each other.

Facilitating dialogues among participants, through both a newsletter and easy-to-use computer linkages.

To join the network, one need only fill in a questionnaire identifying specific area(s) of interest in economics, for the purpose of preparing a directory of participants grouped by common concerns.

Present communications arrangements include:

1. The "Networking Column" of the Human Economy Newsletter, a quarterly publication of the Society for a Human Economy at Mankato State University. Sample copies can be obtained by writing directly to the Society at Box 14, Department of Economics, Mankato State University, Mankato, MN USA 56001.

2. Computer conferences, via BITNET and other electronic networks. The BITNET/CERN system presently links over 3,000 academic institutions worldwide, and provides access to various electronic bulletin boards including ECONET, PEACENET and GREENET.

For further information:

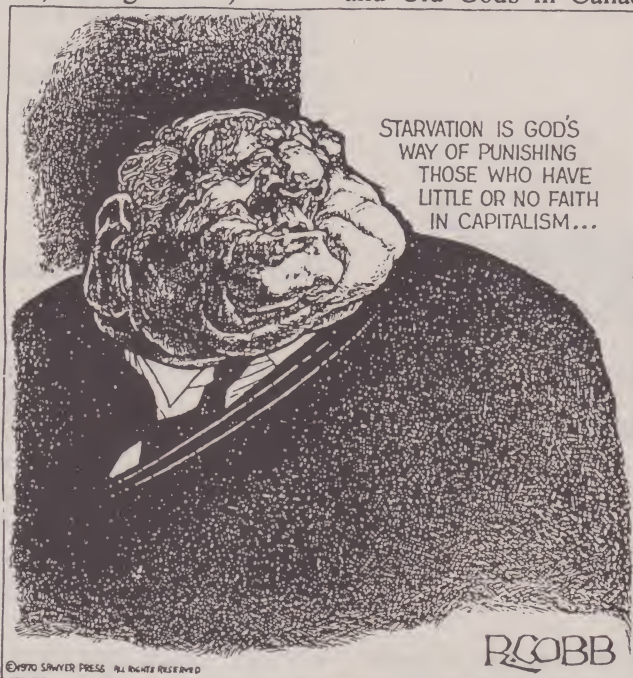
Professor Don Cole
Human Economy Network
c/o Economics Department
Drew University
Madison, New Jersey
USA 07940.

Pagan Resources Directory

The Directory of Canadian Pagan Resources is the only comprehensive directory of resources for Witches, Dianics, Faeries, neo-Pagans, Druids, and others spiritually attuned to Nature and the Goddess and Old Gods in Canada. It lists, free of charge,

newsletters, gatherings, bookstores, covens and individuals (with written permission), and other resources in the community. The 1990 Directory (#3) was issued May, 1990 and costs \$3. Information or copies:

Sam Wagar
Obscure Pagan
Press/Pagans for Peace
P.O. Box. 86134,
North Vancouver, B.C.
Canada V7L 2L9.



Political Prisoners Documented

Free copies of the book **The Dark Side of Europe**, listing more than 100,000 political prisoners, have been sent to political prisoners and anti-repressive organizations in Europe and America. Sale price is 700 ptes (Spanish,) including postal expenditures. For orders:

Dark Side of Europe
Aptat. no 2.192
Barcelona 08080
Spain.

Anarchist Literature

For a full range of anarchist books, periodicals and pamphlets, including the hard-to-get, small

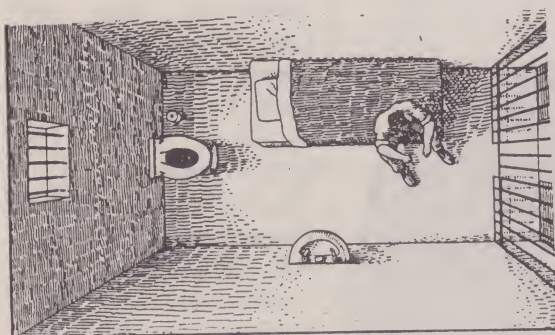
press stuff, send a few bucks (preferably in international money order, English pounds) to:

AK Distribution
3 Balmoral Place
Stirling
Scotland FK8 2R

Prison Guinea Pigs

It's funny how you know it's true, but you're still shocked to read the details. We've received a booklet called Medical Experiments on American Prisoners, detailing this sordid aspect of U.S. penal reality. (no price given.) Write:

Air Water Earth
PO Box 311712
New Braunfels, Texas
USA 78131



Changing Men

The magazine Changing Men has just released its 10th Anniversary Issue. Articles include: Issues for Men in the 1990s, Can White Heterosexual Men Understand Oppression?, The Men's Movement and the Survival of African-American Men in the 90's, plus lots more. \$6/issue, \$24/year from:

Changing Men
306 N. Brooks
Madison, Wisconsin
USA 53715

Unusual Lore

Flatland, a Catalogue of Unusual Lore, lists a wide variety of periodicals, books and pamphlets. "The last time I bought a book in a store I read the back cover, and it made it seem fascinating. When I

got home, I read it....boring." Everything at Flatland is 100% guaranteed: if you don't like it, return it. Catalogue \$2:

Flatland
PO Box 2420
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Studies in Catalonia

A Foundation for Libertarian and Anarcho-Syndicalist Studies is being established in Catalonia, to promote the study of anarcho-syndicalism and the libertarian movement through exhibitions, conferences and the accumulation of publications. It would like to organize an exchange of publications with any group interested. Contact:

Fundo d'Estudis Libertaris
Placa Duc de Medinaceli,
6 Entr. la.
Barceona, Spain 08002

War Resisters' Conference

War Resisters' International will hold its Twentieth Triennial Conference near Brussels July 28-August 1, and all sympathizers are invited. It will be a mixture of small meetings where everyone can participate, larger sessions, workshops and key forums on the Gulf Massacre and on implications of social change in Eastern Europe, Latin America and South Africa. There will be theme groups meeting daily on a variety of topics related to nonviolence, the arms trade, ecology, the New World Order, ecology, peace education and anti-sexism. Cost is 95 pounds per person. Followed by business meeting August 2-3. For information and registration:

War Resisters' International
55 Dawes Street
London SE17 1EL
England

Survival for Tribal Peoples

Survival International is seeking to expand its membership, in order to increase the work it is doing on behalf of tribal peoples threatened with extinction. Successes to date include reduction of malaria from 90% to 10% among Yanomani tribes in Brazil (although genocide is still being practiced against them,) establishment of a reserve for the

Worani Indians of Ecuador's Amazonia, preservation of the Central Kalahari Reserve for Kalahari Bushpeople and production of a report on the Sarawak situation in the tribal language. Survival helps fund Amazon Indian organizations and the occasional smallscale self-help project, such as one in the Philippines where displaced tropical forest Aroman Manobo people are finding their self-sufficiency again through small buffalo herds. But in Brazil one Indian tribe has been wiped out every year this century. To join or send donations, write:
Survival International
310 Edgware Road
London W2 1DY
United Kingdom

Clothes for First Nations

Readers who tend to discard clothing in good-to-excellent condition might instead consider following the example of two Toronto wimmin who, in keeping with the sharing traditions of their Ukrainian ancestry, began collecting such clothes from their acquaintances for shipment to various first nations reservations in the Toronto vicinity. They ship clothing for men, wimmin and children, and are particularly interested in donations of clothing for large wimmin, who often have trouble finding good secondhand clothes. When the donations they received came to exceed the needs of the first native groups, they began taking clothes to various wimmin's counselling centres, many of whose clients require such clothing for court appearances. Clothes that are too lightweight to be of use on Canadian reservations are given to the Guyana Aid Foundation.

If you live in the Toronto area and would like to donate clothes, or if you live elsewhere and would like their advice on how to start a similar project in your area, please call Alys 947-0808 or Lilian 759-9124 (area code 416.) No collect calls, please.

Wimmin's Self Care

Sojourner, a feminist magazine, includes in its March 1991 issue the Second Annual Wimmin's Health Supplement "Caring for Our Selves," featuring articles about lay midwives, menopause, feminist health centres and much more, in addition to its usual fine range of articles. \$2/issue, \$17.50/year from:

Sojourner
42 Seaverns Ave.
Jamaica Plain
Massachusetts
USA 02130



THE NEXT MOVE IS YOURS



K.

Letters To The Editor

Editors' note: One of KIO's aims is to compare various approaches to saving our environment -- social ecology, deep ecology, bioregionalism etc. We welcome submissions on any of these positions. Although writers are welcome to address any point made by a previous writer that they wish to dispute, we ask that in future they refrain from interpersonal attacks and invective. We will likely edit such attacks from future submissions we print. We have not done so in this letter, as it is in the spirit of an ongoing controversy going back several issues, before this stipulation was made.

"Anarchist" Label Abused

As a matter of record, I would like to clarify certain views that were imputed by Bill McCormick in the last issue of *Kick It Over*. Am I an admirer of Karl Marx and of certain writers of the Frankfurt school, as McCormick alarmingly claims? The ghastly truth can be stated quite bluntly: yes, I am. I am also an admirer of -- and have worked with the ideas of -- Heraclitus, Aristotle, Diderot, Rousseau, Hegel, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Theodore Adorno -- all in varying degrees and with many critical reservations. And I also happen to be the author of *Listen, Marxist!*, *Marxism as Bourgeois Sociology*, and *On Neo-Marxism, Bureaucracy, and the Body Politic*, not to speak of scores of pages over several books advancing an in-depth libertarian critique of Marx and Marxism, as McCormick fully knows -- and demagogically ignores.

If a 1982 quotation by my good friend John Clark that imputes a Marxist thrust to my writings is conclusive proof of my failure to tote a hidden anarchist line to which McCormick is privy, the more mystical and religious readers of *Kick It Over* may be consoled to know that a few years later, Clark imputed a strong Taoist thrust to my writings. Frankly, I am neither a Marxist or a Taoist, but a social ecologist. My point? To find out what I think, it would be wise to read what I write about my ideas -- and to read quotations from my works in their proper context -- not to rely on what other people say my ideas are, especially when these others are quoted by basically dishonest "critics" like McCormick.

If any doubts exist that McCormick's letter contains wanton distortions of my ideas (this is a consistent failure of all his letters against me), his treatment of my views on open strip mining should dispel them. In my last response to his *Kick It Over* (#23) criticism, I fell back on strip mining only as a last recourse for humanistic reasons because of the horrors of subsurface mining. I argued that most of the metals we use should be obtained "by salvaging the wastes of our vile society,"

not by compelling people to enter pits of the earth in order to mine ores. Rather than see people endure the horrors of subsurface mining, I argued, "I would gladly open a surface mine with a 'great shovel' -- if an ecological society truly needed new ores and fuels -- rather than send human beings into the depths of the earth where they know neither day nor night, clean air nor skies, a peaceful nature or a cool breeze to provide the steel for 'eco' -bicycles or the coke with which to smelt them."

In McCormick's hands, this concern for human beings is turned into a "defense of open strip mining," as though I condone what the mining corporations are doing to the land. Never in my interchange with McCormick have I read a line by him that shows the least interest in exploited peoples and the victims of social oppression. Instead, McCormick repeatedly recycles the same distortions in his letters, apparently with the view that no one will recall what either he or I said in our previous interchanges. Thus, a situation has been created in which McCormick never places a quotation from me in its context, but shrewdly tailors selected phrases, sentences and paragraphs from my writings and even from writings of my critics and friends, in an attempt to present my views in a form that is grossly distorted at best and maliciously false at worst.

But there is more than distortion at work here. *Kick It Over* readers should know that McCormick has had the sheer gall to send me an unsolicited letter last September in which -- half-threatening, half-cajoling -- he proposed to me an utterly unprincipled 'deal'. "Regarding my 'trailing' you across several periodicals, yes," wrote McCormick, in acknowledgement that he was doing so in the opening lines of his first paragraph. The paragraph concluded with the proposal: "As soon as you stop the deliberate distortions [of deep ecology], I guarantee [!] you there will be a corresponding and necessary adjustment [!] in my own activities." In other words, if I stop criticizing deep ecology, McCormick will stop criticizing me -- presumably, irrespective of my alleged "Marxism," "anthropocentricity," "technological mentality," etc. *ad nauseam*.

Regardless of whether I am "distorting" deep ecology -- and I strongly believe that I am not -- I do not make deals of any kind on matters of principle or on ideas. McCormick, in my view, has turned what should be a serious dialogue about the insidious nature of deep ecology -- with its religiosity, antihumanism, Malthusian orientation and social quietism -- into a calculated, cynical and systematic project of harassment, which renders any future response to him demeaning.

Speaking more generally: I feel that sizable and perhaps growing number of New Age types in North America are now attaching the label "anarchist" to their medley of mystical, religious, misanthropic, anti-intellectual, and nihilistic grudges against anything that remotely resembles a coherent, humanistic (and I don't mean "anthropocentric") body of ideas and a meaningful practice directed towards social change. (I do not direct these remarks at Charlene Spretnak, who makes no pretense of being a radical of any kind and simply recycles the same outrageous claim in latter after letter that anyone who has the nerve to disagree with her is "dividing" the Green movement.) I do not hesitate to emphasize that I have absolutely *nothing* in common with people of this kind. Whatever else I may feel about Marxist and libertarian thinkers of the past, I consistently adhere to the maxim, "Neither God [nor Goddess] nor Master!"

Among the more serious problems we face today is not only the fact that capitalism has physically polluted the planet. In our era of disempowerment and ideological confusion, capitalism has created a largely mystical and religious form of mental pollution that threatens to involve people in a pseudo-spiritual inwardness and quietism that is more self-indulgent than social. When a theory of "rights" is extended to include rocks, and when people are asked to "think like a mountain" instead of thinking like human beings (to use the jargon of the deep ecology movement), the very notion of "rights" becomes so all-embracing and cosmic as to be meaningless, and thought is divested of any rationality and powers of insight. I am weary of seeing the high ideals of anarchism dragged through the mud or degraded to cheap bumper-sticker slogans.

As I approach seventy, I have encountered all too many "anarchists" of two decades ago who have discarded their spray cans and crash helmets, entered professional schools, opened "ecologically responsible" capitalist enterprises that could easily earn dubious awards from the *Utne Reader*, or turned into outright real estate sharks and Marxist professors. Their New Age replicas in the 1990's are welcome to beat their conga drums to Paleolithic deities, divines the mysteries of "thinking like a mountain," fight for the "rights" of rocks and try to save the planet with neurotic trances. If readers of *Kick It Over* are interested in a thoughtful attempt to restore the honor of anarchism and recognize that ecological problems have their primary roots in social problems, I would ask them to communicate with the *Green Program Project*, PO Box 111, Burlington, Vermont 05402, USA. And if they want to *do* something about changing this foul society with more than rituals and incantations, I would urge them to communicate with the *Left Green Network* (I'll forward their names),

the only serious left libertarian movement of which I know in North America.

Murray Bookchin
Burlington, Vermont

Newfoundland Problems

The major threat to the extinction of Newfoundlanders as a distinct society in Canada is Newfoundland Municipal Affairs Minister Eric Gullage's concept of super cities. This theory dictates that small outpost towns be united to form larger ones. Rural municipalities within a radius of 100 miles from St. John's or other large towns would be interwoven to eventually devise enormous futuristic cities. Town councils and citizens in Newfoundland feel that it's a destructive vision that could be dangerous to the system, resulting in higher taxes and added economic threats to the province.

The real threat, of course, is the annihilation of an entire early European culture that has existed for over 500 years. It's evident everywhere--modern highrises, fewer fishing boats, urban sprawl--as progress produces prosperity and Newfoundland politicians, embarrassed about their Newfie-goofy lifestyles and larger UIC and welfare lines, believe that provincial creation of super cities would conceal local poverty by creating super ghettos. This was done in St. John's in the 70s, when mayors Murphy and Wyatt expropriated large areas of the city's ghetto for commercial use. The fisheries and fishermen which everybody associates with picturesque Newfoundland and robust Newfoundlanders are slowly and manipulatively becoming extinct due to European overfishing and uncaring federal and provincial governments. Both government and opposition condone social genocide, which they see as Progress or Americanization.

But most awesome are the hidden players in this fiasco, large oil companies and possibly the CIA. They slyly and stealthily mould and shape Newfoundland's future in ways that small town politicians and media can't even understand. There are also some shady and extremely wealthy Newfoundland characters who are manipulating and advocating U.S. ideas among Newfoundlanders, using the media. Buying large parcels of land for the coming oil boom, well-off Newfoundlanders have nothing to lose except their country. The victims are the peasant class, who after twenty years of boom face a lifetime of poverty.

Change is sweeping Newfoundland, and everybody and everything with it. Good or bad? Only time will tell.

George Vokey
Spaniards Bay, Nfld

O Lord our Father,

our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle -- be Thou near them!

With them, in spirit, we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe. help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the shrieks of their wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended the wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sports of the sun flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it -- for our sakes who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet!

We ask it, in the spirit of love, of Him Who is the Source of Love, and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts.

AMEN.

-from The War Prayer
by Mark Twain